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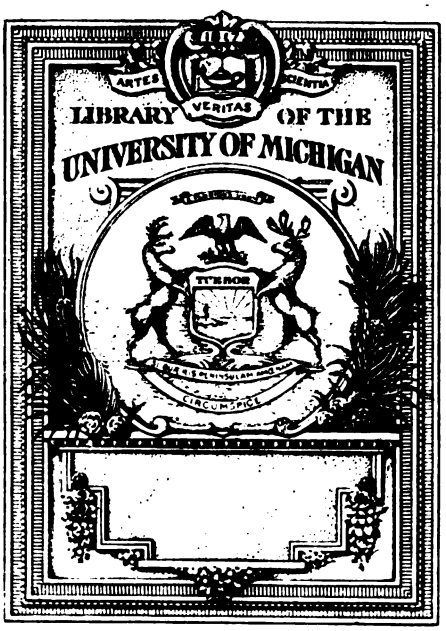
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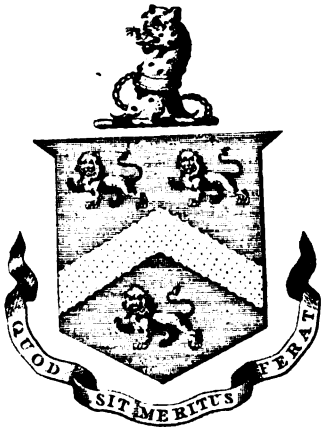

Thos. Smyth

An Accurate
MAP
of the
ISLAND
of
ANGLESEY
Drawn and Engrav'd
By Jn.o Gibson.
The Coast Surver'd
by Lewis Morris
THE
IRISH
SEA
Skerries I.
West Mouse
East Mouse
Eliarus Point
Ynys Seiriol
Red Wharf
Pulas Bay
Holy Head
CANTREF
COMOT
TWRCELYN
TAL.Y.BOLION
CEMAES
COMOT
CANTREF
LLIFON
COMOT
ABERFFRAW
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MALLDRAETH
COMOT
RHOSSIR
MENAI
TINDAETHWY
CANTREF
BEAUMARES
BANGOR
PART OF
CAERNARVON
SHIRE
CAERNARVON
Newborough
Aberffraw
Malldraeth
Llanbadrig
Llanrhwydrus
Llanfair ynghornwy
Llanfechell
Llanfflewyn
Llanrhuddlad
Llanfaethlu
Llanbabo
Llanerchymedd
Llanallgo
Bodafon Hill
Capel Gwredog
Coedana
Llanfair mathafarn eithaf
Llanddona
Llanbedr goch
Llangoed
Llangefni
Llandyfrydog
Llanfihangel tre'r beirdd
Llaneugrad
Capel Buddog
Llanfihangel Tre'r Beirdd
Llanfair pwll gwyngyll
Llanddeiniolen Fab
Llanddeiniolen
Porthamel
Llanidan
Plas Newydd
Porthaethwy Ferry
Llanfihangel yn Nhywyn
Llanfihangel yn Nhowyn
Llanfaelog
Capel Mair
Capel Llyn Coron
Tregfilarth
Hendregadog
Bodowyr isaf
Bodowyr uchaf
Llangaffo
Llangadwaladr
Bodorgan
Llanfairisan
Bodowen
Llangeinwen
Llanfair y Gommerd
Treffarthin
Tal y Foel Ferry
Moel y don Ferry
Abermenai Ferry
Llanddwyn ruins
Llanddwyn
Llanddona
Llanfihangel Lynaethwy
Penmon Church
Penmon Priory
Round Table
Llangoed
Llanfaes
Pentraeth
Ynys y Fiarnel
St. Catherine
Llanfihangel Ysgeifiog
Llanfihangel Tre'r beirdd
Llanfair mathafarn eithaf
Llanfihangel Tre'r beirdd
Llanfihangel Tre'r beirdd
Llanfihangel Tre'r beirdd

T Smyth

Mona Antiqua Reſtaurata.

AN

ARCHÆOLOGICAL DISCOURSE

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES,

NATURAL and HISTORICAL,

OF THE

ISLE OF ANGLESEY,

The Ancient Seat of the Britiſh Druids.

In TWO ESSAYS.

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING

A Comparative Table of Primitive Words, and the Derivatives of them in ſeveral of the Tongues of Europe; with Remarks upon them.

TOGETHER WITH

SOME LETTERS, and THREE CATALOGUES.

By HENRY ROWLANDS,
Vicar of LLANIDAN, in the Iſle of ANGLESEY.

The SECOND EDITION, Corrected and Improved.

LONDON:
Printed for J. KNOX, near Southampton-Street in the Strand.
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TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE

RICHARD,

LORD VISCOUNT FITZWILLIAM OF MERION,

BARON OF THORN-CASTLE,

KNIGHT OF THE BATH, &c. &c.

PERMIT me, my Lord, to uſher into the world this Second Edition of Mr. ROWLANDS' Account of ANGLESEY---an Iſland which you well know---under the favour of your Lordſhip's Patronage. It may be, perhaps, ſome pleaſure to you to travel the country over again, and view the Curioſities of it, by the light and direction of this learned antiquary. It is, I am

ſure,

ſure, great pleaſure to me, that I have it in my power thus to acknowledge your kindneſs and friendſhip, and publicly to declare with how great eſteem and true regard, I am,

MY LORD,

Your Lordſhip's moſt obedient,

and moſt humble Servant,

HENRY OWEN.

ADVERTISEMENT.

AS this Book, notwithſtanding the inaccuracies of the Firſt Edition *, met with a favourable reception from the world; we thought it a duty incumbent upon us, not only to clear it of thoſe typographical errors, but alſo to render it ſtill more worthy of public regard by the following improvements; viz.

1. By reviſing and correcting the language throughout, ſo far as was conſiſtent with the reſolution of preſerving the Book the ſame.

2. By rectifying the miſtakes which our author had committed in relation both to Facts and Inſcriptions, and adding explanatory notes, where they were thought neceſſary.

3. By inſerting a new and correct Map of the Iſland, inſtead of that ridiculous, imaginary one, that diſgraced the former edition.

4. By continuing the Catalogues of Members of Parliament, &c. to the preſent time. And by ſeveral other important additions.

For moſt of theſe improvements the public is indebted to the late ingenious Mr. Lewis Morris; whoſe Work, entitled, CELTIC REMAINS, whenever it is publiſhed, will exhibit a noble and curious ſpecimen of his great abilities and knowledge of antiquity.

* The Firſt Edition, printed at Dublin A. D. 1723, for want of ſome proper perſon to reviſe the ſheets, came out very incorrect. The author died before it was publiſhed.

THE

AUTHOR's PREFACE.

ARCHÆOLOGY, or an Account of the Origin of Nations after the Univerſal Deluge, admits of two ways of enquiry,——either beginning at Babel, the place of mankind's diſperſion, and tracing them downwards to our own times by the light of records, which is Hiſtory, and of natural reaſon, which is Inference and Conjecture; or elſe beginning from our own time, and winding them upwards, by the ſame helps, to the firſt place and origin of their progreſſion;——both which ways are uſually taken by Hiſtorians and Genealogiſts, and are equally to be allowed in their manner of proceeding. By the former of theſe methods I have in the following Sections adventured through ſome of the darkeſt tracks of time, to calculate the Archæology, and to fetch out and put together ſome rude ſtrokes and lineaments of the ANTIQUITIES of the ISLE of ANGLESEY, from its firſt planting to the time of the Roman Conqueſt, moſtly in an hypothetical way, or a rational ſcheme of enquiry.

A method, I confeſs, very unuſual; viz. to trace the footſteps of hiſtorical actions any other way, than by that of ancient memoirs and records. But where thoſe lights are wanting, what ſhall we do? Shall we lie down with our forefathers in the general ſlumber, blaming the paſt ages for leaving us in

in the dark; or like the men of Egypt, ſhall we only confine our view to the preterfluent ſtream of Nile, and reſolve to look no higher, becauſe, it is ſaid, its fountain-head lies hid beyond the mountains of the moon? No; that were to act unfaithfully with the deſigns of nature: Knowledge is her gift from God to us; and we ought to employ all the means and helps ſhe affords, to improve and enlarge it.

The main and principal helps to guide us through the dark receſſes of time, are the teſtimonies of unexceptionable records, and ſuch conſequences as are naturally deducible from them. Theſe are like the ſolar rays; where-ever they ſhine, there is ſure and perfect light; and the motion guided by them is even, ſteady and regular.

There are other things, as analogy of ancient names and words; ancient laws, conſtitutions, and cuſtoms; coins and medals; erections, monuments, and ruins; edifices and inſcriptions; the appellations of places; the genius, tempers, inclinations, and complections of people; and a variety of ſuch remarks, which afford here and there little ſtreaming lights to be cautiouſly and warily made uſe of, and which we ought likewiſe to ſcan and examine jointly and ſeverally, and from them extract ſuch ſecondary ſupplies and aſſiſtances, as may help to fill up and enlighten thoſe obſcure chaſms and interlineary ſpaces of time, which interrupt the brighter ſtrokes, and more undeniable certainties of records. And in this manner, by a juſt proportionate diſpoſal of the lights and ſhadows of Truth, we may undertake to repreſent the accounts and tranſactions of the remoteſt time, though not as certain, yet what is next to it, as highly probable, coherent and intelligible.

By

By the firſt of theſe, viz. the unexceptionable teſtimonies of Records, divine and human, and the conſequences I could juſtly draw from them, I was aſſiſted to lay down the main draught and ground-work of this rude Eſſay. Here I had ſure footing; and I have been careful all along, to conclude nothing with aſſurance and certainty, but what is built on this evidence.

The other collateral helps I make uſe of, according to the degree and quality of their evidence, to complete and fill up the vacuities of this draught with ſhadows of conjectures and probabilities; and what concluſions I draw from that ſort of evidence, I always propound as uncertain and only probable; leaving every one at his own liberty, either to judge them ſo, or to make (if he pleaſe) better gueſſes; preſerving always a juſt and ſtrict regard to the due proportions and meaſures between cauſes and effects, and effects and cauſes, as they come in my way; which I ever reckon the main concern of hypothetical diſcourſes.

And indeed I muſt confeſs I could never yet ſee a reaſon why in ſome caſes an hypothetical diſcourſe or a conjectural way of accounting, when it is performed with caution and due regard to peculiar circumſtances, ſhould not be as applicable to the hiſtory of places and actions, as it is allowed to be to that of nature; and that in ſome caſes it is ſo, I ſhall in a proper place endeavour to evince.

I own that This now offered to public view was at firſt only deſigned for the exerciſe of private thoughts and the peruſal of a few friends; and that it is at beſt but a weak teſtimony of

the ſtrong deſires I had of retrieving the almoſt-loſt accounts and antiquities of my Native Country, out of the deep obſcurities of time and prevailing oblivion; towards which if my poor endeavours can but contribute the ſmalleſt mite, I have my aim; and do wiſh that ſome abler hand, better qualified for ſuch a performance, would undertake to give the world an ample ſatisfactory Account, from the Nature of Things, from Records, Traditions, remaining Monuments, and from ſuch other lights and evidences as occur, of the Antiquities of this Iſland; which I find hath been effected in other parts of the nation, with no ſmall acceptance and ſatisfaction.

This I ſhall yet farther premiſe, that where I have been inclined to derive many ancient names of things, appertaining to religion and other ancient uſages, from the primitive Hebrew tongue, I would entreat the reader not to determine in prejudice thereto, till he ſees the accounts I give, relating to that matter, in my Remarks on the Comparative Table towards the end of the book; where I hope he will upon peruſal find good grounds for what I did, and therein to his doubts, if he has any, a reaſonable ſatisfaction.

As to the origin of nations, and many things depending upon it, it is very preſumptive that the moſt ancient memoirs of things, the Sacred excepted, were at firſt built on this foundation; viz. on Inferences and Conjectures; yet, when recorded and tranſmitted to poſterity, their credit advanced as they grew in age, and they ſoon came to be what they called Authentic Hiſtories; as if being recorded had been a ſufficient pledge of their authority, and the beſt title to truth and certainty; and a farther reaſoning into things, never after

to

to be attempted; whereas upon a juſt conſideration of this affair, it will (I preſume) appear, that it is the beſt ſervice and the greateſt juſtice done to hiſtory to have its foundations well aſcertained; and where they are not, no age is too late, by all the means and helps that reaſon and nature can afford, to endeavour their being ſo, which is the aim of theſe Eſſays; and where thoſe means appear to be earlier and clearer than ſuſpected records, I hope the reader will be more juſt and candid than to deſpiſe and reject them; the reaſons whereof ſhall be more fully explained in the Introduction to the Second Eſſay.

To conclude, whatever is offered to the public of this kind muſt undergo variety of cenſures: Every one there has a right to judge, though few have the abilities to judge rightly. Criticiſm is an undefined thing, under no ſettled rule, often governed by prejudice or paſſion, by humour or fancy; whence it frequently comes to paſs, that what is agreeable to one taſte is diſpleaſing to another. To pleaſe All is impoſſible; to have Faults is unavoidable.

———*Vitiis nemo ſine naſcitur: optimus ille eſt,*
Qui minimus urgetur.——— Hor. lib. I. ſat. iii.

"To have no errors is a privilege above the condition of humanity; under it, happieſt is he who has feweſt of them."

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OBSERVA-

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

ANTIQUITIES

OF THE

ISLAND OF ANGLESEY.

THE FIRST ESSAY.

SECTION I.

Of Iſlands in general.

ANGLESEY, antiently by Latin writers called Mona, is an iſland, and one of the counties of North Wales according to the preſent diviſion, ſeparated from the main land by a narrow arm of the ſea. It is ſeated in a temperate air, enlivened by a benign ſun, and enriched with a good and bountiful ſoil. But to account for its primary and natural origination, I muſt beg leave, from the conſideration of ſo ſmall a ſpot of ground, to make ſome reſearch into the original ſtate of things, and lay down the phyſical immediate cauſes of all iſlands in general; which I ſhall endeavour to unfold by theſe propoſitions following; and then eſtabliſh a particular concluſion relating to this iſland.

FIRST, The creation of this terreſtrial globe, both by the word of God and the light of nature, ſeems to ſuppoſe two diſtinct conſiſtencies in the inferior chaos, viz. Earth and Water; at firſt commixed and huddled together in one formleſs blend or fluid, till the Almighty Spirit, moving upon the face of that deep or fluid, made the diſtinct parts of it exert their peculiar tendencies and gravitation: which parts ſo moved and agitated by the Creator's hand, and then purſuing the mechanical tracts of motion, at length formed and brought forth thoſe ſeparations,

 which

which the Holy Scriptures call "the gathering together of the waters, and the appearing of the dry land."

SECONDLY, Then it follows that the groſs and heavy particles of the arid or dry earth, the ſediment of that fluid, by the mechanical law of motion they were obliged to purſue, gravitating and ſinking lowermoſt, by cloſing and uniting together, compreſſed and ſqueezed out the more thin and fluid ones, *i. e.* the watry particles: the former by their tenacity knitting together formed one ſolid but uneven and channelled round; and the latter more light and voluble ones, ſeeking alſo the center of gravity, but being borne off by the denſe orb, flowed about; and by filling up the depths and bottoms of the earth's uneven and channelled ſurface, left the protuberant and more elevated tracts thereof to be habitable Land, and the depreſſed and lower regions, covered with theſe waters, to be that which is called Sea or Ocean.

THIRDLY, This watry heap, being held up by the indiſſoluble denſity of the earth, and being every where of its own nature a ponderous, lubric fluid, and as a conſequent of that, of the like diſtance from every part of its ſuperficies to the center of gravity; I ſay, this watry heap muſt therefore neceſſarily keep up in all parallels of the terraqueous globe to a conſtant exact altitude; and the arch or altitude being (as is ſaid) every where equidiſtant from the central point, it will hence neceſſarily follow that the univerſal ſurface of the water, conſidered in its intire and ſpreading bulk, muſt be exactly globous; as when lines of equal length are drawn from one point or center, their ends muſt neceſſarily terminate in a perfect circle.

FOURTHLY, This has been the approved and eſtabliſhed theorem of the rotundity of the terraqueous globe, but is now of late indeed ſomewhat ſhocked by the new notion of the ſpheroidal figure of the earth, and conſequently of the incumbent fluid: which is the hypotheſis of Huygens, Sir Iſaac Newton, Dr. Burnett, and others. But as to the ſtreſs of my argument, viz. that there muſt be allowed a given arch or altitude of the watry ſurface from the common center always conſtant and certain, in reſpect to the central point; that hypotheſis affects it not: it may indeed a little alter the form, but not the force of the reaſon. For ſuppoſing the ſpheroidalneſs (whether oblate or oblong it matters not in this caſe) of the terraqueous globe to be undeniably demonſtrated (which as yet is not *) by theſe perſons; and that the

* Since the publication of this book in 1723, the ſpheroidical figure of the earth has been undeniably demonſtrated by the menſurations of the French academicians. But this affects not our author's hypotheſis.

diurnal

diurnal rotation of the earth and water about their common axis ſhould in ſome part contract, and in another part dilate the convex ſurface of the globe, ſomewhat out of an exact ſpherical roundneſs; yet this rotation being always determinate and uniform, the arch or ſurface of the fluid, though it be not exactly ſpherical, muſt keep to a conſtant exact altitude; that is, it muſt have a diſtance from the ſurface to the center always equal to itſelf in every particular parallel; which in effect amounts to the ſame thing as if it were perfectly globous.

And therefore from theſe propoſitions it is plainly demonſtrable, that the cavernous and furrowed parts or regions of the earthy ſurface, which lay beneath this determined arch or altitude, the flowing Element (wanting proper bounds) if it finds a way irreſiſtibly breaks in and covers; I ſay, if it finds a way; for there may be ſome depreſſions of the earthy ſurface, occaſioned perhaps by earthquakes or other accidents, which are even below that altitude, and yet remain dry; becauſe the ſea may be either artificially banked and kept out, or naturally defended from flowing in: but it is rarely that any continues long ſo, without an inlet opened by Nature's own hand; that is, gulphed or furrowed at the original formation of the earth, or forced and broke open by the impetuous aſſaultings of this furious element to run in and poſſeſs its own limits.

Of this latter particular Geography ſupplies us with ſome inſtances, namely, that of Gibraltar; where the narrow Gut (whether naturally or adventitiouſly ſo is uncertain) lets in the whole Mediterranean ſea to all that tract it now poſſeſſes, and unites it to the ocean.

Thus we find the whole globe to be but one heap of earth and water, lodged and ſettled within their appointed limits. And though upon this ſame globe, the largeſt tracts of earth, becauſe ſomewhere ſurrounded, may be called iſlands; yet thoſe leſſer circuits of land, thoſe ſmaller wens and protuberances of the ſolid round are more properly ſo called, to diſtinguiſh them from the greater, which are more fitly called continents: as Britain from Europe, Angleſey from Britain, &c.

On theſe grounds therefore I conceive the fret or channel of *Menai*, which divides the iſle of Angleſey from the adjacent continent and makes it an iſland, to have been originally (at leaſt the greateſt part of it) beneath that arch or global point before ſpecified; and conſequently that the great fluid or running bulk of water, finding acceſs at both ends of it to flow in, made that tract in the beginning, or ſoon after, an iſland environed by the ſea.

SECTION II.

Of the river Menai, and whether Angleſey was originally divided by it from the continent.

I WILL not affirm that this ſpot of ground was an iſland from the creation. For it is highly probable that the univerſal deluge made great and remarkable alterations on the face of the globe, raiſing ſome places which had been ſea into dry land, and depreſſing others that were land beneath the irruptions of that liquid element, made them ſeas. Yet it is not altogether unlikely, that there was for ſome ſpace of time after the divulſions of the deluge, an arm of land joining the country of Angleſey to that of Caernarvonſhire. If any ſuch there was, it muſt have been near *Porthaeth-hwy*; where there is ſtill to be ſeen a trace of ſmall rocks jetting out in a line and croſſing the channel, with other great ſplinters of rocks fallen and tumbled down, and appearing as if the ſea had conſumed and eaten away the ſoil in which they had been originally fixed, leaving the rocks bare and rugged, and the ſtones and broken ſhivers of the rocks in the bottom of the channel fallen and tumbled one upon another.

In the hollows and cavernous interſtices of theſe fallen and broken rocks the ſea for an hour or two at the beginning of flood (two currents ſeparated by a rock conjoining and ſtrongly claſhing in that place) violently boils and fluctuates, making it for that time a very dangerous paſſage; and giving it the name of *Pwll-Ceris* *, I conceive, as being the loweſt ſtream or current, *Cer-iſſa*: There being (as I ſaid) a divided current in that place.

But if there was a ſmall iſthmus or ridge of land blocking the current in that place, as indeed theſe rocks ſeem to have been the natural foundation ſupporting an arm of land that extended from one ſide to the other, if ſuch there was, yet the ſea with its unruly ſurges daily coming up at both ſides of it in an uninterrupted channel, ſoon eat away the ſoft ouzy ſoil that landed and made up the intervals of theſe rocks, and by its repeated irruptions and frequent overflowings quite conſumed it in a ſhort time; and forced a paſſage ſo as to become one continued channel from one end to the other.

* It ſhould have been *Keris*, and not *Ceris*. In Mr. Vaughan of Hengwrt's MS. of Nennius it is *Pwll Keriſt*. *Cer-iſſa* is only a fanciful derivation.

It

It may well be affirmed, that this fret or river of Menai to this mentioned middle place is the original work of nature; or a great crack or ſciſſure in the internal ſtrata of the earth, at what time ſoever that happened. And though this channel might become one entire dividing arm of ſea between thoſe two lands in a few years after the flood, yet it may in no wiſe be granted to be then near ſo broad and ſo deep as it is now: for we muſt allow the force and agitation of ſtorms, the flux and reflux of tides, to have beaten and waſhed upon, worn and ſunk away, a great deal of the ſoft and earthy banks on each ſide of it; and the bottom alſo to have been conſumed and hollowed by the ſea's ſharp acrimonious quality *; ſo that it muſt be now much deeper and wider than at firſt we can imagine it to have been.

To this alſo we may add the quarrying and carrying off ſtones from the rocky banks of it, for building public and private edifices; which eaſe of digging and conveniency of water-carriage invited men to, and which did not a little enlarge and widen the boundaries of it. And whoever does but obſerve and take exact notice of the natural deſcents and declivities of ſome grounds on each ſide of it, and withal takes a proportional eſtimate of what was torn and waſted away of the banks, from the lower part now of thoſe deſcents to the ſurface of the water, ſuppoſing (as it is very reaſonable ſo to do) thoſe deſcents to have been equal and uniform to the brink of the channel, will find reaſon to think this channel at the beginning to have been very narrow, and in ſome places perhaps not very deep.

I have obſerved on ſome coaſts along this river's ſide long rows of large ſtones lying in a line one by another many yards below the now full ſea-mark, as if they had been antiently *terfynau*, fences or boundaries between the land and ſhore. And in ſome places you may obſerve another ſeries of ſuch ſtones running parallel to the lowermoſt row, and lying between it and the land, as if that likewiſe in ſome ages after had been made boundary: of which I can give no other account than that the lowermoſt row was the firſt and moſt antient boundary, fixed on a deep earthy ſoil; which the ſea undermining and perpetually conſuming and waſhing away, the ſtones fixed thereon ſunk by degrees lower and lower, one row after another, till they became as we now find them. And there is little doubt but that thoſe walls or rows

* Salt water wears the bottom of rivers where the tide comes no more than freſh water; and therefore we can allow this aſſertion but little weight.

of

of ſtones which lye now as preſent boundaries between ſea and land on deep earthy ſoils, future ages will behold alſo like others fallen and tumbled, ſunk and covered under water.

And as the depredations of the ſea, on the ſoft, yielding, earthy ſhores, on the iſland's ſide of this channel, has undermined, ſunk, and ſwallowed ſome quantities of land; ſo the ſcouring off and throwing up of the ſmall ſtones and pebbles from thoſe raviſhed banks into great beds of beach, on ſuch places and jetts as moſt oppoſe the direct currency and undulation of the water along the channel, has gained ſome, and barred it up from ſwallowing more; as may be obſerved, Firſt, At *Abermenai*, where a formed bank of beach extends from * *Twyn Ceinwen* to the ferry; and being broke there by the channel reaches on the other ſide to *Dinas Dinllow* †, as a pier or bulwark to *Dinllow*-marſh. Secondly, At *Pwll y Fuwch* by *Porthamel*, where a bank of beach has hemmed in and recovered a large field from the ſea. Thirdly, At *Moel y Don*, the *Penrhyn*, where the ferry-boat rides, ſeems to have been anciently an iſland, at leaſt at full ſea; where a bank of beach to the S.W. and an accumulated bed of ſand at the back of the beach, has now filled up the interval, and made it one continued point of land. And, laſtly, Near *Beaumares*, the Point called *Oſmond*'s Air and the Green by the town are a mere collection of ſmall pebbles landed there by the undulating tempeſtuous force of the ſea; though between thoſe two beaches, a conſiderable piece of land was, in lieu of what it ſtored up there, raviſhed and conſumed away by the inſulting element to the very walls of the town.

Now, as to theſe inundations and demoliſhings of the ſea that have happened here as well as in many other places, they are not to be aſcribed to any increaſed elevation of the watry body in one age more than another, but rather to ſome accidental depreſſion of the earth in ſome places; though chiefly and moſt frequently to this depredation of the ſea upon a lax diſſolvable ſoil, which it inceſſantly tears and conſumes without reſiſtance. As to the elevation of the ſea in ſome ages above others, which ſome fancy, it has no foundation in ordinary nature (for the approaches and attraction of comets, if there are ſuch things to be

* The word is *Tywyn* and not *Twyn*. It is derived from *tywod* and *gwyn*, i. e. *white ſand*; being hillocks of white ſand blown together by the wind.

† We have no authority to write this *Dinllow*; for in all our MSS. it is ſpelled *Dinlle*, as it is commonly pronounced. This *Dinas* is an ancient ſummer camp on the marſh near the edge of the ſea, and was doubtleſs intended to defend the entrance of the river Menai.

granted, are extraordinary, and therefore not to be urged as any proof). I ſay, it has no foundation in nature; for the ſea (excepting its daily and monthly ſwellings, which yet make no variation in the whole bulk) makes of itſelf, as far as it extends and continues fluid, one round and globous ſurface; and what it depredates of the earth in one part, it throws up into another; and therefore, without addition of new matter, which is naturally impoſſible, this body of water, in the aggregate bulk of it, is incapable of augmenting or diminiſhing its given arch and determined altitude. As to local Deluges, concerning which hiſtory is not to be diſcredited, they may be very well accounted for another way; as proceeding from great unuſual rains and land-floods, and other particular cauſes.

But that of the univerſal deluge, if it be objected as an inſtance of ſuch augmentation, is of no force in this particular. For that was divine and miraculous; and as it did not depend upon, ſo it cannot be accounted for, and explicated from, the known power and operation of any natural principles.

This being ſettled, I may now conclude that the channel of *Menai*, though at firſt narrow and fitted only to diſcharge and carry off the many freſh brooks that fall into it, might in a long continuance of time, by the conſtant motion of the water wearing and conſuming its earthy banks and bottoms, become as broad and as deep as it now is. And undoubtedly where the ſhores are flat and earthy, ſoft and yielding, as they are in many places, the ſea will daily enlarge its encroachments, and purſue oppoſition as they give way, till it meets with unpaſſable reſiſtance. For although the Almighty has aſſigned to this liquid element its bounds over which ordinarily it ſhall not paſs; yet when theſe bounds drill and moulder away, it will inevitably break in and lean upon others: its very nature obliging it, as to ſeek its bounds, ſo to reſt no where without them.

Now, it being in my way to explicate ſome things that will occur in this diſcourſe by that great phœnomenon, the deluge, I am obliged before I can build any concluſions upon it, to prove the univerſality of it; and conſequently that it reached not only here, the place I undertake to account for, but equally round the globe; which ſome would very ſtrenuouſly deny, contending that a topical one ſufficiently anſwers the ends of that divine judgment. To prove this, I ſhall only uſe this one argument, which I hope will clear the point, or at leaſt give ſtrength to what I ſhall aſſert in the next ſection in relation to this iſland:

It

It is agreed by all that the earth and water, as they conſtitute one globe, have one and the ſame center of gravity; and as a conſequent of this, that the great bulk of water, however raiſed or depreſſed, will naturally form itſelf into a ſpherical, or at leaſt, into a ſpheroidal ſuperficies; it being a fluid body, and having every where an equal tendency to the common center. Now, I ſay, if they allow (as ſome do) a local deluge, they muſt allow it to be ſuch as did actually over-top and cover all the mountains of that place where that deluge happened; elſe it contradicts the expreſs words of Moſes, and defeats the great decree of drowning all mankind but thoſe in the ark. Now, if it be granted that this local flood did by ſome cubits overflow the higheſt mountains of Aſia (as the ſcripture plainly ſays it did) which are ſome of the moſt aſpiring mountains in the world; then it follows that the global arch, or circle of that elevated water, kept the ſame height and diſtance from its center round the globe; for being a fluid body it naturally flowed to all declivities, and conſequently muſt overflow all the mountains of the earth within that circle; and therefore upon this granted ſuppoſition it muſt be univerſal, or at leaſt deeply cover theſe lower regions, which is all I contend for.

SECTION III.

Of the Original Form of this Iſland, the alterations which the univerſal Deluge wrought on the face and borders of it, and other accidents and effects of that prodigious maſs of Water.

NOW, ſince it is no leſs than mathematically evident, that Noah's flood univerſally overflowed the face of the earth to a height equal to the higheſt mountains of Aſia; and ſince we have natural principles to afford us evidence, that that overflowing made great changes and alterations on the ſurface of the globe; it may well become a queſtion, Whether this iſland was ſea or land before that univerſal cataclyſm? To which I anſwer, That although the ſurface of it be for the moſt part flat, and not many perches higher than the ambient ſea; and though ſeveral are of opinion, that many more elevated regions were formerly under water, and no other than the bottoms of ſeas; yet, we have ſtrong inducements to affirm, that this was never ſince the creation under any, ſave that of the flood. For as, on the one hand, we find no ſymptoms of ſuch a ſubmerſion, no indication of ſo long ſleeping

under water, and as a neceſſary conſequence of that, no marine remains, properly ſuch, interſperſed in our inland ſoil; ſo on the other hand, we find in many places of it ſome evidences of its being land before the deluge. We find great bulky trees buried in flutch and mud, which in all likelihood the deluge laid along, and found growing on or near the places where we now find them. And if they grew near the places where they are found, as there are many ſigns they did, then there is no queſtion but it was terra firma before that deluge.

Now it being ſuppoſed to be land, and probably an iſland, before the flood, it is impoſſible to determine what addition, diminution, and other ſuperficial alterations it ſuſtained under that mighty preſſure of waters during the continuance of them; yet ſomething may be ſaid and rationally accounted for in regard to theſe particulars. And therefore in the explication of them, I ſhall wave the ungrounded hypotheſes of our late theoriſts in relation to the deluge and the conſequences of it, and ſhall rather chuſe to rely on more indubitate certainties; that is, on the divine authority and the viſible effects of things, that there was a deluge, and that it was univerſal. And conſequently, in order to ſet forth the natural circumſtances of this iſland ſince that epocha, I ſhall, from the common and moſt undeniable affections and properties of that maſs of waters, ſubmerging and ſurrounding the terreſtrial globe, aſſume ſuch plain and eaſy principles as will be very intelligible in themſelves, and ſufficiently reſponſible for thoſe phœnomena that will fall under the conſideration of theſe premiſed particulars; which I ſhall ſet down generally in a few Theorems explicating the natural efforts of thoſe waters; and particularly in a few Corollaries neceſſarily reſulting from thoſe cauſes, with reſpect to the place I account for.

First, therefore, whatever divinity or philoſophy may warrant us to affirm of the prodigious riſe and increaſe of theſe waters two or three miles at leaſt above their preſent level, we may well conceive that the weight and force of ſo huge a heap of water, ſo long preſſing upon and ſoaking the whole face of the earth, which was probably then not ſo much petrified as now it is, muſt needs looſen, diſſolve, and take aſunder the ſoft, earthy, and claiy mould and ſurface of it to a conſiderable depth; and with its weight and preſſure lay flat and bear down all that grew on that broken and diſſevered ſoil.

All this may be concluded from the natural and ordinary effects of ſuch a mighty weight of water, waving and preſſing on the ſoft and yielding ſurface of the globe. But beſides, it is very probable that,

this prodigious mass of water was attended with extraordinary commotions and violences; which indeed is not only suitable to the nature of the thing, but the letter of the text seems also to point out something of that kind to us. Moses (it seems) not contenting himself with a word that might only express the rise and increase of the water, but to shew us that there was somewhat more in the matter, sets it forth with an energy: *Vehamajim gabru meod meod*, Gen. vii. 19. viz. "The waters grew robust and violent more and more." The word *gabar*, which he there makes use of, peculiarly implying a vast gigantic strength; *ceu gigas aliquid prosternere*, as some expositors comment upon it; to ravage and destroy all things before it. Now the more strong and violent the rise and increase of these waters were, the more havoc they made, and the more they broke and dilacerated of the soft and yielding surface of the earth.

Secondly, The continuance and long stay of this heavy mass of water, so long pressing and penetrating the porous spungy earth, soaked, mollified, and dissolved the superficial crust or cover of it, in the more flat and level places, to a very soft, ouzy, and fluid consistence; and that too, where it was not stony and rocky, to a depth proportionable to the weight and duration of the incumbent fluid. And this soft, quaggy, and much dissolved and loosened surface of the ground, so long steeped and humectated, rendered it very apt and easy to be moved, broken, and furrowed, wherever the motion, weight, and currency of the water drove and pressed it. And we may also conceive, that no small proportions of the finest and most dissevered parts of the loosened earth, being taken up and sustained in the swelling fluid, made it to a considerable height very thick, faeculent, and muddy; and that consequently in that float of things the trees of the lighter sort swam aloft, and the heavier ones either stuck in the quag or trailed in the bottom *.

Hence it is that the earthy mould, falling off from the sides of the more erect and elevated situations, left the more hard and petrified portions thereof, as we now find, to be craggy, precipitous rocks. And when the outer coat or stratum, which before, in all probability, covered those heights, slid down into the adjacent bottoms, a great deal of the more loose and crusty parts of these rocks, being then left naked and unsupported, fell off and tumbled in many places in great splinters and

* Trees of the lighter sort, as fir, willows, and alder, are found amongst the oak in *Mynydd Patis*, near *Trysglwyn*, in this island.

fragments one upon another; as may be ſeen on the verge and borders of all rocks and rocky precipices. So that from hence it is mechanically evident, that what was ſoft and earthy on the hills and mountains, by the weight and preſſure of this water ſliding downwards, ſtuck in and filled, on the lower grounds, all unevenneſſes and hollows: and what alſo on theſe lower grounds was before uneven and rugged, by having their holes, chaps, and crannies filled up with the deſcending ſilt and fæculency, became more plain and level: inſomuch, that what was thereby abraded and waſhed off from the hills and eminences, was, by the tumbling of that water, ſtrewed and levelled on the plains and bottoms.

Eluvie mons eſt diductus in æquor. Ovid. *Metam.* xv. 267.

THIRDLY, in the fall and decreaſe of theſe waters, when the higher grounds and hills began to appear, and the Almighty had ordered the outrageous element to fall and couch within its own limits; we may naturally conceive, that as theſe waters fell lower and lower to the leſſer hills, they deſcended ſtill with greater and greater violence and impetuoſity towards their original channel, eſpecially where the grounds were uneven and ſhelving; carrying along with them their muddy filths and floatings, and making hideous eruptions in their paſſage, where they were any wiſe ſtopped and retarded, until they had lain all they carried along with them in the loweſt bottoms, and reſeated and lodged themſelves within their appointed allotments.

Some idea of this we may form in our minds from the great and frequent excavations which extraordinary land-floods effect, when they run headlong over grounds of a looſe yielding conſiſtency.

Thus when with haſte and precipitancy, theſe recoiling waters rolled and tumbled, through the great gaps and outlets of the earthy ſurface, to their peculiar channels; it is eaſy to imagine, how their impetuous force and violence broke and furrowed the univerſal quag, or diſſolved and looſened ſurface of the earth, into guts and dingles; and that with various windings and turnings, as the ſoil broke and yielded to the force and violence of thoſe furious eruptions, and as the diſpoſition of the rocky ſtrata of the earth gave way to them: and how they threw up and lodged here and there, as they deſcended, in the depreſſed cavities and receptacles, vaſt proportions of ouze mixed with trees and other rubbiſh; which afterwards condenſed and grew up in ſuch places to be what we call moors, fens, turberies, dales, and meadow-lands.

And beſides that quantity of this miry ſediment and eluvies, which ſtuck in the larger bottoms to become dales and meadow-lands, and in the leſſer and deeper cavities to become moors and turberies; we may likewiſe conceive, that vaſt and mighty heaps of it, overflowing and trailing with this retiring element to its own great receptacle, the ocean, ſtuck and accumulated there in the great bays and oſtiums; where the ſea having recovered its wonted motion repelled and hoarded it up: whereby that muddy eluvies having, after ſome time, ſpent its moiſture, and been conſolidated, it became in after ages (as the vaſt plains of Egypt, a great part of the Netherlands, and ſome of our marſhes of England, &c.) the richeſt and moſt fertile ſoils. For theſe plains are, in my opinion, with better appearance of reaſon to be referred to that great and mighty deterration and eluvies of the univerſal deluge, than, as Mr. Ray, and others would have it, to the floods and ſcourings of great rivers; though ſomewhat may be alledged that way of the formation of ſuch flat and level lands as are juſt in the oſtiums, or the places where ſuch rivers diſcharge themſelves into the ſea.

Theſe general Propoſitions being thus far premiſed, and being in themſelves unexceptionable, and but the ordinary and conſtant reſults of nature in theſe circumſtances; I ſhall now attempt to draw ſuch Corollaries from them as will eaſily and intelligibly account for many phœnomena that will occur in the conſideration of the original ſtate and appearance of this iſland, both before and immediately after the univerſal deluge, or at leaſt when it was inhabited.

Now if the queſtion were put, what was the form of this iſland, and what figure did it repreſent at that time? I do confeſs it to be very hard to determine. But what ſhape ſoever it was then of, I have great inducements to affirm it was neither before nor immediately after the flood, of the ſame form and dimenſions as now we find it.

For it is very probable, nay, almoſt demonſtrable, that the ſea on the ſouth-weſt ſide of this iſland, before the deluge, came up at many places in little bays and angles very far into the inland part. And to reduce what I ſaid to a particular application, I ſhall affirm from the foregoing Theorems,

First, That the ſouth-weſt indented ſide of this iſland being a little lower and more depreſſed in its ſituation than the oppoſite one, by that declivity, the deluge at the ebbing muſt needs bear down and carry with it into thoſe bays and angles on the ſouth-weſt ſide, whatever the weight and preſſure of the waters had eraded and broken off from the

the loosened surface; and that in the trailing and rowling down of the dreggy sediments of the retiring fluid, some proportions of that eluvies stuck here and there, both in the more extended depressions, which formed our flats and meadow-lands, and in the deeper cavities, which became our moors and turberies.

Secondly, in this recession of the recoiling waters, the surface of the island being somewhat flat and level, though a little shelving to the south-west side, we may imagine that great proportions of that water were stopped, pent up, and as it were, land-locked, in many places; till the force, weight, and overflowings of it tore and opened it a vent and passage through the soaked and softened ground from one bottom to another; and those vents and irruptions made our narrow gullets, or *nentydd*; of which that at *Llangefni* is a remarkable instance; where a great fosse or gullet of considerable length and depth is broke through a large ridge of land, to give vent and passage to a large extended bottom which lies behind it, and which otherwise had been all to this day under water; in which place it is observable, how the impetuous element, after some windings as the ground gave, at last broke out its passage through a heap of rocks, which, perhaps, from that perceived effect, was, and is, to this day, called *Careg y forwyllt*, or the eruption rock. And I dare appeal to any man's observation, if ever he has seen any large extended bottoms without either a natural opening *, or a forced breach and passage, made by this rapid element, to discharge and carry off what collections of water may be otherwise conceived to swell and stagnate in those bottoms; and to attribute these breaks and excavations to the constant drilling of brooks and gutters, will not be so much as supposed by any that shall diligently observe the position and circumstances of those places.

Thirdly, that the bent and sliding of the eluvies of the deluge on the face of this island was to the south-west side of it, is evident; first, from the hills, rocks, and precipices of the north-east side, which are considerably higher and more elevated from the sea than any on the opposite side; and, secondly, from the constant course and running of the greatest and longest of our brooks † from the north-east to the south-west of the island; the slope and declivity of the ground directing, as it does these brooks now, so that eluvies then, to fix its repose and settle-

* Are not all lakes formed in bottoms by the want of such openings?

† The rivers *Braint, Alaw, Keint, &c.*

ment

ment on the ſouth-weſt borders of it; yet ſome proportions of the eluvies ſlanted alſo to the north-eaſt ſide, where ſome little deſcents favoured its motion.

FOURTHLY, with regard to ſuch parts of this eluvies as ſtuck not here and there in holes and cavities producing our moors and turberies, or in the large and extended bottoms and depreſſions becoming our flats and meadow-lands, but trailed and followed the receding waters to the ſhores of the ſea; we may imagine that that reſtleſs element, having then recovered its wonted poſition and motion, ſoon repelled and threw back that earthy ſilt and mixture, the ſpoils of the higher grounds, and therewith filled up thoſe bays and inlets of the weſtern ſide of the iſland, forming there thoſe moors and marſhes which we now find at *Newborough*, *Malltraeth*, *Aberffraw*, *Trewin* *, and in other leſſer angles of that cloven indented ſide.

FIFTHLY, in this eluvies and miry floatings of the deluge, thus carried down to the ſea, and thrown up again into thoſe bays and inlets, we may ſuppoſe two ſorts of ſubſtances that had their different place and poſition in that ſettling maſs:

Firſt, the earthy parts, by their weight and more cloſe adheſion in that accumulated mixture, ſtatically ſubſided and kept to the bottom, and made, next the ſea, a more looſe and quaggy†, and to the landward, a more firm and compact, body of ſand. The ſea-water at every flood, cribrating through that ſeaward portion of it, which was probably very looſe and pervious, repelled and kept back the more ſlimy and ouzy part of the mixture; which being ſo ſeparated and driven back, after ſome ſettling, conglutinated and hardened there into a firm ſandy clay, ſuch as we generally find the under ſoil of our marſhes to conſiſt of.

Secondly, the more light and voluble portions of this eluvies, being a medley of all floating ſubſtances, as graſs, roots, leaves, trees, &c. poſſeſſing the upper part of the aggregate maſs, were, by the ſea's agitation, driven yet furtheſt off to the landward, and there ſettling, grew into a turfiſh matter, or black ſpungy peat; ſuch as is generally found behind our ſandy marſhes in this and other countries.

SIXTHLY, this laſt mentioned ſcurfy floating part of the eluvies, ſtuck ever uppermoſt in all the places where it fixed and ſettled; unleſs it happened in ſome places to be expoſed to, and covered with, drifts of

* It ſhould be written *Tyuyn Tre Owain*, it being the townſhip's name.
† *Mall-traeth.*

ſand

ſand hurried by ſtorms and winds; which is the reaſon that peat and turf are not ſeldom dug up in ſome ſands and marſhes under a layer of ſand: and ſometimes in inland turberies they find a layer of marle, clay, or gravel, ſpread over that peaty fibrous matter; which ſeems to have happened either from ſome after-eruptions of the pent and ſtagnated fluid, burſting and overflowing it with a new ſediment; or it may have come to paſs from ordinary floods waſhing and carrying down the offals of the higher grounds, and ſtrewing them upon theſe already formed and grown turberies: and hence thoſe ſtreaks of clay, marle, gravel, and the like, that are uſually found in peat and turf, or the layers of that ſtuff overſpreading and lying upon them, are eaſily accounted for.

SEVENTHLY, in this peaty turfiſh matter we frequently, and almoſt every where, find trees of all ſizes buried and lying along in the midſt of it; and ſometimes trees of another ſpecies than are uſually growing near the places they are found. Theſe muſt be lodged there by the inundation of the univerſal flood: for if they had been there cut down, or fallen of themſelves, thereby forming the peat and turfiſh matter that now grows over them, as ſome would ſeem to object, they muſt have been all found lying on the very ground and loweſt bottoms of thoſe peats, and not diſperſed throughout the ſubſtance of that maſs: whereas they are found to lie in deep turberies ſeveral yards above the bottom, ſome with their roots uppermoſt, and others in other poſitions, and that too on our higheſt mountains *; which ſurely nothing but an univerſal deluge could effect, leaving them with the recoiling waters one above another, according to their ſpecific gravities, diſperſed and buried in that ſlutch and mud which ſtuck in theſe cavities, and in after-ages, conſtituted and formed thoſe peats and turberies wherein they are found.

This is what I find moſt conſonant to the works of nature, with regard to all flats and level grounds, and conſequently to the original formation of thoſe tracts of land or marſhes, that now fill up thoſe arms and branches of the ſea, which on the ſouth-weſt ſide of this iſland, I ſuppoſe to have at firſt run up a conſiderable way into the land, and are now firm ground, making that ſide of the iſland more ſtraight and uniform than originally it ſeems to have been.

Now to prove what I affirmed, that the ſea did really come up at firſt in thoſe bays and inlets, which are now firm land and turberies, to the

* Particularly on *Mynydd Paris* near *Tryſglwyn*.

very

very edge and borders of the rising grounds, on each side and at the ends of them, I shall offer these instances:

First, the under-ground and lowermost bottoms of those mentioned sandy marshes, that is, the uppermost coat of the true solid earthy mould or soil under those plains; and that in some places very far from the sea, is found to be lower than the full sea level; and consequently, before the sand and slutch crowded in and filled the places, the sea must naturally overflow and cover it, as I have before demonstrated.

Secondly, at *Mall-traeth* marsh, about the middle place between the sea and the fartheſt inland points of it, and very near the land, they find, by digging for coals, a perfect sea-shore with all its symptoms, as pebbles, shells, &c. under five or six yards of pure sand, as I have been credibly informed by an intelligent person concerned in those coal-works; and yet the surface there is very little above the level of the sea, as appears by its frequent flowing up to that place; and if the channel was originally so deep there, so near the shore of it, any one may proportionably conjecture, not only how deep the whole bay was, but also how far the sea flowed up to the adjacent rising grounds towards *Keint* and *Kefenny*; two brooks discharging themselves into that marsh.

Thirdly, at *Towyn Ceinwen* * near *Aber-Menai*, at a place called now *Dwyran*, the very utmost point to the landward of that bay, just where the river *Breint* goes into the marsh; I have found that place in some ancient records called *Aber-Breint*, as if sometime the river made its entrance into the sea, which is now a mile from it, at that place; which though it might be an argument rather that that bay was landed many ages after the deluge, because sometime seen and then called an *Aber*; yet it is a sufficient evidence to shew that once it was sea to that very place.

Further, it is to be confessed, that these mentioned clefts and interspaces on the south-west side of this island, being thus filled with the silt and fœces of the deluge, had also in after-ages considerable additions of pure sand thrown up by the sea, and blown and scattered by the winds, gradually strewing and covering the whole surface of them: for it is demonstrably true, that the sea, by its incessant eating and wasting away the earthy yielding shores it beats upon, quickly converts what it ravishes away from those banks into sand and slutch; which it throws up again and lodges in such nooks and angles as are most exposed to its

* It should be *Tywyn Keinwen*.

rage

rage and commotion; and likewiſe that ſuch portions of thoſe ſands, ſo diſcharged and thrown up on the ſhore, as are light and voluble, the winds take away, when they are dry, in vaſt drifts and ſhowers, blow and diſperſe them over the whole plains, thereby not only augmenting the extenſion of thoſe flats and levels, but alſo raiſing the ſurface of them, eſpecially near the ſea; where generally thoſe plains ſeem more advanced and higher than towards the inland parts of them.

The greateſt accumulation and incroachment of theſe volatile ſands on the borders of this iſland, was about the ſouth angle of it near *Aber-Menai*; at which place the ſea threw up, and the winds, frequently blowing from that quarter, drove, vaſt ſhowers of theſe flying ſands; not only enlarging the ſandy plains, but covering alſo with the drifts of them a great neck of land, called *Llanddwyn*, all over.

Theſe prodigious heaps of ſand ſo thrown up, which have totally ruined the habitation of that place, I conceive the ſea, in the manner I mentioned, took off from the ſhores of *Caernarvonſhire*; from *Dinas Dinllow* * all along to the fartheſt point of *Llyn*; whence, undoubtedly, great quantities of land, eſpecially from *Caer-Anrhawd* to the *Rivle*, were taken away by the ſea. And the winds, as I ſaid, frequently blowing from that coaſt, forced the tumultuous waves to diſcharge and unburthen themſelves of thoſe ſpoils upon that part of this iſland that was directly oppoſite to thoſe vaſtations of the ſea on the other ſhore, which was this *Llanddwyn*; though ſome proportions of thoſe ſands were in like manner alſo diſcharged and diſperſed on the other plains of *Aberfraw* and *Trewin* †. Neither is it unreaſonable to imagine, that a great part of *Llyn* likewiſe, towards the middle and the furtheſt end of it, being generally pure ſand under the upper ſoil or ſtratum, was ſometime covered with ſuch drifts of ſand from the ſea on the ſouthern ſide of it. For we have ſome memorials of a vaſt tract of flat land there, called *Cantref Wailod* ‡, all conſumed and eaten up by the inceſſant beating of the ſea upon it. And, in all probability, the ſand of it being carried by the waves on the ſhore, and thence diſperſed by ſtorms and wind over the face of that country, made it for ſome while a deſolate region, as now our *Llanddwyn* is, till that encroaching ſtock of ſand was exhauſted, and the ſurface of the land, after long ſettling, by the new growth of vegetables, by plowing and manuring, and by the

* *Dinas Dinlle.* † *Tre Owain.*

‡ *Cantref-Gwaelod*, i. e. a *bottom* or *low land*, containing formerly a *hundred Trefs* or manſions, now all ſwallowed up by the ſea.

operation of the ſun, and air, and rains upon it, was rendered habitable; and came at length, by degrees, to be converted to a good arable ſoil and plentiful paſturage; as now for many ages it has been known to be.

The two other ſides of this iſland (for it is ſomething triangular) have, it ſeems, undergone little or no alterations, either in addition or diminution, to this day. The north and north-eaſt ſide of it, being, for the greateſt part, precipitous and rocky, were liable to the leaſt alteration.

And the ſouth-eaſt verge and border of it, ſince the river *Menai* had made out its paſſage in an uninterrupted channel from one end to another, is much the ſame as originally it may be preſumed to have been; only the ground from *Beaumares* to *Penmon*, being a deep earthy ſoil, has ſuffered ſome diminution; eſpecially the place where *Beaumares* ſtands. But what the ſea, by waſhing and undermining the marly ſoils of that ſhore, raviſhes and ſweeps away, it ſtores up and accumulates on the ſandy ſhelves on the other ſide.

As to the inland part of the iſland, this method of ſurveying effects by their known and certain cauſes only warrants me to ſay, that as the great weight of thoſe waters of the univerſal deluge levelled a great deal of the uneven and rugged face of it, leaving the rocks bare and naked, and filling all the chinks, pits, and hollows of it with the earth that formerly clad and covered thoſe rocks; ſo alſo the great pregnancy and fertility, which the ſoil had then acquired from the remaining ſilts and ſliminеſs of the receding water, quickly invigorated the face of the land to germinate and put forth freſh and lovely growths of trees, ſhrubs, and vegetables of all ſorts, whoſe ſeeds lay diſperſed and covered in the blended ſoil; it being in theſe climates a little after autumn, by the beſt accounts, when the flood began. And to confirm that the more, it is not unuſual to take up nuts *from the bottoms of turf-pits, with all the ſigns of perfect ripeneſs upon them; which is a great and viſible argument of Providence; which as it ſecured the race of animals in an artificial ark, ſo it wiſely contrived to preſerve a ſeminary, a new ſucceſſion of all the kinds and ſpecies of vegetables, to refit and furniſh the earth in the natural ruins of that ſtupendous cataſtrophe.

* Nuts are taken up from the bottom of *Dulas* ſands, and moſt boggy grounds.

SECT.

SECTION IV.

Of the first Inhabitants of this Island: When, how, and by whom it was first planted, and why called Môn, *or* Mona.

ANTIQUITY recordeth, and the consent of nations celebrateth, the sons of Japhet to have been the first planters of Europe. Our commonly received stories make our Britain to be peopled by these men, very soon after the flood. But it is not easy to imagine, how so large and remote a territory should become thoroughly planted and peopled in so short a time.

For though eight persons did then multiply, in a small time, to an incredible number; yet, considering the great distance of this place from the middle point or center of mankind's progression, viz. Armenia or Caucasus, and the tedious difficulties those people met with in extending their colonies through huge deserts and over dreadful rocks and mountains; and having two seas to pass over, if they did not march about the Euxine and the Palus Mœotis, together with their continual toil of hewing down the woods and hunting of beasts, all the land before them being one great continued waste or wilderness: considering these things, I say, all which they must have done, except passing round the Euxine, we cannot but conclude that they must have consumed a long space of time before they could fix and establish themselves here a distinct settled nation.

But probable it is*, and we have nothing but probabilities and conjectures to guide us in things of that remoteness and obscurity, I say, probable it is, that when those people, who moved to the westward, had extended their colonies to the Belgic or Gallic shores, and had thence taken a view of the great *Albion* or isle of *Britain*, they soon wafted over; and being entered into, and possessed of that rich and spacious land, their multiplied families proceeded on in the like manner, hewing and hunting (the work of that time) until they came to the end or utmost corner of the land, which, on the western side of it, was this island I am accounting for. When these prime colonizers came into it, and found it the hindmost island, or the utmost corner of the land that way, we may well presume that they might then properly call it, *y Fôn*

* What Dr. Pezron relates from history concerns the Titan conquests of these countries, and not the first planting of them

Ynys, that is, "the hindermoſt or furthermoſt iſland," or *y Fôn Wlâd*, viz. "the lowermoſt country:" *Bôn* being in the Britiſh ſtructure the radical of *Môn*, and ſignifying in the ancient Britiſh, as alſo in the Iriſh, the ſame as *Caudex*, or *Pars inferior*, does in the Latin tongue. Neither is it unlikely that the Latin *Finis* (labial ſounds being promiſcuouſly pronounced in ancient times) might be owing to the ſame derivation a little varied; that is, what we call *Vôn* or *Fôn*, the Latins called *Fîn* or *Finis*; as *Finis-Ter*, the utmoſt cape or point in Spain; the ſame with *Tîr-Môn* * in ſignification.

That the relative ſite and poſition of this iſland gave it firſt that name, will appear the more probable, in that the ancient *Celts* or *Britons* frequently denominated themſelves (or were by others denominated) from the ſituation of their territories, and ſuch other comparative reſpects. For what were the † *Cattiuchlani* and *Dobuni*, ſo named in Roman authors, but the *upper* and *lower* inhabitants of that part of Britain where they reſided? What were the *Ordovices* and *Silures*, but *gwyr ar Dhyvi* and *Iſſelwyr*, viz. the men inhabiting *above Dyvi*, and the men *below* it, or towards the ſea; which is ſtill in our dialect reckoned loweſt or lowermoſt?

And we have this farther to obſerve, that as *Kyn* or *Cyn*, in the ancient Britiſh tongue (and is ſtill retained in the Iriſh) betokens *head* properly, as ‡ *Cynwy* and *Cynvelyn*, *head-river* and *yellow-head*; and improperly or metaphorically, *firſt* or *foremoſt*; as *Cyntav*, *firſt*; *Cyn*, *before*, &c. So in the ſame manner is *Bôn* properly taken in that language for *tail*, *ſtump*, *butt-end*; but improperly for *laſt* or *lowermoſt*. And we may alſo take notice, that thoſe regions or countries in this iſle of Britain, which border on, and lie next to, the continent-land (which countries were probably firſt inhabited, as having the ſhorteſt cut to come into them from the main-continent) do ſeem to have anciently retained the ſound *Kyn*, in the compoſition of their names, as betokening *firſt* or *foremoſt*, though diſtinguiſhed by their reſpective ſites and poſitions. Thus we have *Kyn* or *Cynta* §, by the Romans called *Cantium*, by

* *Tîr-Môn*, i. e. *Ultima Terra*, by the antient poets called *Ultima Thule*, which Statius takes to be a Britiſh Iſle.

† *Catuwchlaniaid* and *Dyfniaid* ‡ *Tal Kyn*, Forehead.

§ From { *Cynta*, *Ucheynta*, *Obricynta*, } come { *Cyniaid*, *Uchcyniaid*, *Obricyniaid* } *i. e.* the firſt inhabitants.

Expreſſed by the Romans, { *Cantii*, *Iceni* or *Iceni*, *Brigantes*. }

I well

by us *Kent*. A little ſideways of that, we have *Uch-Kyn*, i. e. *Icenorum Regio* by the Romans, now *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*. And beyond that, down towards the north, is *Obri-Cyn*, or *Obrigantum*; *Brigantium Regio* by the Romans. And theſe, with ſubmiſſion, I take to have been the *firſt*, the *upper*, and *farther Kents*, or lands which were firſt arrived unto and inhabited; they all lying along oppoſite to the Gallic and Belgic ſhores.

And as theſe countries, being the moſt eaſtern parts of the iſle of Britain and next to the main continent, were originally, as it ſeems to me, called by names importing *firſt* or *foremoſt*; ſo it may ſeem very agreeable, from the then manner of impoſing names, and the allowable rudeneſs of expreſſion at that time, to call this *loweſt*, *utmoſt*, and one of the moſt *weſtern* provinces of the Britons, in reſpect of thoſe firſt inhabited countries, *y Fôn-Wlâd*, or *Gwyr ym Môn y wlâd*. On which account, I think, that not only this iſle of *Mona* was ſo called in reſpect of its ſite and poſition, but, for more confirmation of this conjecture, one may trace the ſound *Môn* in many other corners of this and other countries, where we may preſume the ancient Celtæ to have arrived; as if the firſt inhabitants of theſe weſtern regions called thoſe fartheſt points or ends of land, which put a ſtop to their progreſſion, *Môn* or *Bôn*. Thus we find *Cornwal* called by the Romans *Danmonium* †; and the furtheſt point of it is, to this day, called *Pen-von-lâz*, or *wlâd*. The iſle of *Man*, *Moneda*. And in *Ireland*, the fartheſt part of it to the weſt is called *Momonia* or *Mowin*. So likewiſe is one of the *Orcades* (the fartheſt iſles of Scotland) called *Pomona*. Nay, three of the largeſt rivers in the fartheſt end of Spain, and, indeed, of all the weſtern world, ſeem to have in their name, at this day, ſome reſemblance of a *Celtiſh* origin. Two of them have apparently this ſound, viz. *Liſbon* and *Monda*; and the third, to ſhew its

I well know that the laſt of theſe, *i. e.* the *Brigantes*, have an hiſtorical account and derivation, paſſable enough, in good writers; neither do I oppoſe it: but this obſervation naturally occuring, I could not but lay hold on it, and, as ſuch, offer it to the reader; yet conſidering that the names of places, and conſequently of people denominated from them, often continue, from the firſt impoſing of them through many generations among the ſame people, and in the ſame language, how far and wide ſoever thoſe people may have ſpread their colonies, it is not unreaſonable to aſcribe this, in conſort with the other two, to that origin, the diſtinction ariſing from the relation the two laſt have to Kent, or *Cynta*, i. e. the firſt and greateſt landing-place of the whole iſland.

† Some read it *Damnonium*, from the Britiſh *Dyfnant*, which is Devonſhire. But the *von lâz* or *wlâd*, at the land's end, makes it probable that *Danmonium* is the true word for Cornwal, and *Damnonium* for Devonſhire or *Dyfnant*; both theſe names occurring in the Roman geography. The Corniſh pronounce and write *d* as a *z*. *Pen-von-lâz* with them, is *Pen-von-lâd* with us.

extraction.

extraction, is called *Douro*, from the Celtish *Dwr*; the Celtiberians having anciently inhabited that part of Spain.

Now these ancient names, agreeable to the propriety of things, being thus taken and settled; they open a way not only to account for the nomination of this isle of *Mona*, but may also serve to confirm what is generally conceived to be most coherent and natural in this particular, viz. that islands were first arrived into and inhabited in those parts of them which border nearest to other adjacent islands or continents. This is what I take to be sufficient in order to account for this island's ancient name *Mona*, and its present, *Môn*. For if it deserves to be granted that *Cantium*, *Brigantium*, and *Icenorum Regio*, may have relation to the Celtic or ancient British word *Kyn*, as it betokens *first* or *foremost*; it is, I think, but fair to conclude, that the *furthest* and *utmost* places of the land should be called by names importing *Bûn* and *Môn*; for being correlatives they must mutually plead for and prove each other.

SECTION V.

Of the first planting of this Island; the manner of peopling it, and the appropriating the divided parts of it to particular properties and possessions.

THESE, the said progeny of Japhet, having once passed over the Gallic and Belgic streights, and in great numbers colonized our fruitful *Albion* in the eastern and southern parts of it; it is, I think, natural to suppose, that, as the numbers of these men multiplied and increased, the necessity of enlarging their bounds, and a vagrant curiosity, would strongly stimulate and push them on to make farther search and enquiry, and to find out the utmost end and borders of this rich and spacious land.

The huge stupendous mountains, intermixed with dreadful amazing dens on the western side, now *Wales*, discouraged not these bold adventurers from accomplishing that discovery. The restless unbounded desires of those who attempted westerly to find an end or utmost, and to possess new acquests, it is natural to imagine, carried them through all difficulties and dangers, till at last they passed over that great chain or ridge of mountains * which crosses that angle of land from sea to sea;

* The *Eiryri*.

and

and from which, by the interpoſition of a ſmall arm of the ſea, called by them perhaps *Mainau**, or *narrow* water, now *Menai*, this iſland is ſeparated.

This great ledge of mountains, their heights and ſummits being capped with ſnow for the moſt part of the year, they might then, or ſoon after, call *Eiryri* in their language; as it is ſaid that others called thoſe between France and Italy, *Albos* or *Alpes*; as being the uſual repoſitories of that meteor.

From the lofty ſides of theſe hills, taking a wide and boundleſs view of the weſtern ſeas there expoſed before them, they could ſoon deſcry a narrow fret or channel, ſevering and dividing them from another region, which ſeemed to them more flat and level, but overſpread with tall and ſtately wood; and concluding it, in all probability, a more rich and fruitful ſoil than that they ſtood on, that conſideration, together with the grateful proſpect it yielded them, will be eaſily confeſſed very prevailing and natural to give them ſtrong inducements and invitation to deſcend and ſeek out the narroweſt paſſage and ſhorteſt cut to that ſevered and divided land.

This ſhorteſt and narroweſt paſſage appeared to them about the middle of that interpoſing channel; where an arm of ſmall rocks on the iſland's ſide elbowing out, makes it narrower in that place than in any other. This being obſerved, theſe men, it is moſt probable, repaired thither, and in their wicker-*corrachs*, or other expedients of that time, waſted over to take their premier poſſeſſion of this *Ŵn-wlâd*, or *utmoſt* land, on which by their firſt footing was ſealed unto them the beſt claim, right, and title.

Now, ſuch of theſe men as came not at firſt over, but repaired and followed after, we may very well conceive, ſought and enquired for the *porth* or paſſage which thoſe before them had gone over, ſhall I venture to add? by the name of *Porth-aeth-hwy*. They are three very ancient original words; and it is certain the place is ſo called to this day, i. e. "the paſſage which ſome before had paſſed over."

I will not ſay, that Portus Itius, or Iccius, near Calais in Normandy, was anciently called ſo on the like account, that is, from the firſt coming over of people into Britain at that place; yet it is manifeſt that ſome ſuch name as this it had in the Gauliſh or Britiſh language; perhaps *Porth-eitha*, if *Itius* be the word, viz. "the utmoſt paſſage,"

* *Main-aw.*

For it is certain that Cæſar, who firſt mentions it by that name; only latinized the ancient Gauliſh or Britiſh names he found among us; and leaves us to ſeek their etymons, not in the Roman, but in our own language.

But that this place, here mentioned, was called *Porth-aeth-hwy*, from ſome moſt noted and remarkable entrance into the iſland, and what more remarkable than that of the firſt planters? I think is not improbable. For it is certain, that the region or part of the iſland adjoining it has been very anciently called *Tyndaeth-hwy*, that is, "the part or territory they came into;" *Tyn* or *Tain** ſometime ſo ſignifying: both names referring to ſome famed paſſage in the different terms of *a quo & ad quem*, as any one that is converſant in the Welſh ſtructure will readily grant. And to deduce it from *Aithwy*, as a proper or an appellative name, is to run counter to the genius of the language; for then the region or land adjoining would have been called *Tyn-Aithwy*, which it never was. But, to let that paſs,

Theſe prime invaders having got on land, it is eaſy to imagine that their firſt attempt was to top the little neighbouring hills. And when from thoſe riſing grounds they beheld the land before them as one continued grove, on every ſide dark and diſmal, they could not chuſe, ſuppoſing it an iſland, but call it *Ynys Dowyll*, the *Shady Iſland*: This Britiſh name it had of old†: and might give hints to the Θούλε of the Greeks, and the *Thule* of the Romans; which yet might well enough be this iſle of *Mona*, ultima *Thule*, i. e. *Y Fôn Dowyll*; taking *Bôn* or *Fôn* for *furtheſt*, and *Thoule* or *Thule*‡ for *Towyll*; notwithſtanding later geographers miſtook another for it, when further iſlands than it were diſcovered.

Now, ſuppoſing theſe men to have planted themſelves on the tops of theſe little hills and riſing grounds, it is next to be imagined, that a cautious regard and conſideration of their own welfare and ſafety, obliged them to *dyneſſu*, to *approach*, and keep cloſe together on the brows and ſummits of thoſe hilly grounds; where they built little holds and fences, of ſtone and other materials that were found readieſt at hand, to ſecure

* From *Tany* ſpreading, ſo *Tain*, *Tania*, a region, as *Bri-tania*, *Aqui-tania*, *Mauri-tania*, and *Luſi-tania*.

† The ancient poets call it *Ynys Dowell*, not *Dowyll*.

‡ Statius took *Thule* to be a Britiſh iſle, as appears by this paſſage of his, viz.

Cærulus haud aliter cum dimicat incola *Thules*,
Agmina falcifero circumvenit acta Covino.

and

and accommodate themſelves during their ſtay there. For it was perhaps dangerous to deſcend in haſte to the neighbouring vallies, which were then, as in all other uninhabited countries, the range of wild and ravenous beaſts. This the antient names of ſome places bordering on thoſe hillocks ſeem to atteſt, as * *Cors y Wiber*, † *Cors y Bleiddiau*, ‡ *Bodlew*, ‖ *Llâs-lew*, &c. And theſe primary holds and fences on thoſe commanding grounds, from their *dineſu*, (from men's aſſociating and bandying together) they might properly call *Dines* or *Dinas*; as the Latins called *Civitas à coeundo* for the like reaſon. And very many of ſuch places, and two or three in this iſland §, are called *Dinas* to this day.

Thus I preſume the firſt planters almoſt in every country ſought, for ſome while after their firſt arrival, (and it is recorded by authors of great antiquity that they did ſo) ſuch topping grounds and eminences. And where they found ſuch, with conveniency of ſtones and other materials, they built them little holds or fences to dwell in; feeding themſelves for the while upon ſlaughtered wild beaſts, roots and wild fruits, and what elſe they could cater from the adjacent bottoms.

And I have oft obſerved on ſuch grounds in many places of this iſland, and in other countries, cluſters of little round and oval foundations, whoſe very irregularities ſpeak their antiquity; and particularly on the very hills I now mention near *Porthaethwy* there is prodigious plenty of them: two places, ſeeming the moſt principal and eminent, retain, as I ſaid, the name of *Dinas* to this day. And this laſt particular, I muſt confeſs, is an argument to me ſufficiently demonſtrative, that the firſt inhabitants of this iſland not only landed near theſe hills, but alſo dwelt and aſſociated themſelves upon them for ſome conſiderable time---at leaſt while they were clearing and unwooding the adjacent borders. For indeed, I think it may be eaſily determined, that nothing but the want of better places could have induced any people

* *Cors y Wiber*, i. e. The Serpents Den. † *Cors y Bleiddiau*, i. e. The Wolves Den. ‡ *Bodlew*, i. e. The Lions Den. ‖ *Llâs-lew*, i. e. The Place where a Lion was killed, which the word *Llâs* or *Llâdd* imports. If it be objected that lions did not breed in theſe countries, I anſwer, that it does not at all follow, becauſe they breed not at this time here that they did not then; for nothing hindered that prince of beaſts from coming and propagating here as well as in other countries, as we find (by their bones) that elephants once did. But as to the lions, their miſchievous voracity and deſtructiveneſs to men and beaſts engaged the firſt people to make a total deſtruction of them in theſe countries where fewer of them were, which could not be done in other parts of the world, where vaſt wilderneſſes and uninhabited deſarts continued their race, and made it impracticable utterly to deſtroy them.

§ There are four; viz. 1. *Dinas* near *Traeth bychan*. 2. *Pen y Dinas*. 3. *Dinas* near *Porthaethwy*. 4. *Dinas* near *Bodeon*.

to chuſe their living on ſuch barren, bleak, unfertile grounds. And the very make and figure and other circumſtances of theſe rude miſhapen holds (as much as may be gathered from what now appears of them) ſeem to indicate, that they were the retreating places of thoſe firſt people, when they began the work of clearing and opening the country: and their ſorry unfortified ſlightneſs ſeems alſo to ſhew they were rather fences againſt beaſts than men.

From theſe holds and rocky fences we may alſo very reaſonably imagine, that when the men had once opened and cleared the neighbouring borders, and had ſlaughtered and tamed multitudes of their wild inhabitants, they deſcended in diſtinct tribes and families—*Tylwythau*—to aſſume their dividends;—firſt to bound, then to improve and cultivate them: which ſort of bounds or *Terfynau*, running great lengths and compaſſes, are in many places to this day viſible.

And having ſent abroad the more ſtrong and able of them to cut down and deſtroy the wood, and to clear the country, it is probable theſe men, ſo ſent and employed, pitched upon and choſe up and down the openeſt air and cleareſt grounds; which were the more moiſt and ſhrubby lands, now our heaths and * *Rhoſydh*. For theſe, on account of ſeveral advantages, were the beſt places for them to live and abide upon while they were clearing and reducing the drier and better grounds for their future uſe and ſervice.

On theſe ſhrubby heaths or *Rhoſydh* † then, as they proceeded on with their axes and mattocks in felling down the cumberſome crop, which the earth then every where bore, they pitched their little tents and cabbins, raiſing thereon here and there little oval banks of earth, timbering them with boughs of trees it is likely, and covering them with ſods and parings of that tough ſoil, reeds or the like, to lodge them at nights and to ſafe-guard their neceſſaries, while they continued their work of clearing the ground, and fitting it for a more orderly and regular habitation. The moſt ancient memoirs of Ireland give the like account (and it is indeed but what was natural enough) of the firſt work of ſome of the prime rulers of that country, when they were employed in deſtroying the wood and reducing the wilderneſſes thereof into habitable plains; which plains, to ſhew the agreement of their primitive language with the Britiſh, they called *Moy's*, or *Mech's*, as we do the like, *Maes*, to this day.

* *Rhôs*, *Ros* with the Latins, *i. e.* Habitable lands. *Rhos Dre Hwfa*, *Rhos y Neigir*, *&c.*

† As *Rhos Ligwy*, *y Rhos ſawr*,

This

This manner of living in tents and cabbins is warranted by divine and human records to have been the ancienteſt practice of mankind in extending their colonies; very neceſſity obliging thoſe people then, as cuſtom does ſome at this day, to chuſe and make uſe of ſuch moveable abodes; which it is probable theſe firſt people here perſevered in until, and no longer than, their labour and induſtry had provided them a more agreeable ſettled habitation.

That what I ſay now may not appear to be a vain groundleſs ſurmiſe, though the cuſtom of other nations, and the then neceſſity of the thing may be ſome evidence of it—there are to this day viſible upon our heaths and *Rhoſydh* the marks and footſteps of thoſe booths and cabbins, in the oval and circular trenches, which are ſeen in great plenty diſperſed here and there on ſuch grounds. No one can well deny them to have been little dwellings and houſes; and their being only on thoſe barren heathy grounds is ſome argument that they were ſo uſed before the better grounds were reduced and cultivated. And that ſuch marks and tokens of them, as we find, might well remain undefaced on ſuch grounds from that time to this day, is not, I think, difficult to be imagined; becauſe theſe barren heathy grounds, on which theſe little trenches are, have generally their glebe or upper mould and ſurface of a claiy, firm, unwaſtable texture, not to be worn and flatted with rains and weather; and are alſo generally ſo barren and deſpicable, that the plough and ſpade cannot be ſuſpected to have had ever any thing to do with them.

It is true, they are called *Cyttie'r Gwyddelod*, viz. the Iriſh mens cottages. But that muſt be a vulgar error, if by *Gwyddelod* be meant the inhabitants of Ireland, who never inhabited this iſland ſo as to leave any remains of their creats and cottages behind them. For thoſe Iriſh that are ſaid to rob and pillage this iſland ſeldom ſtaid long in it; and if they had, they cannot well be ſuppoſed to leave thoſe marks behind them; for they found here good houſes to lodge themſelves in for the time they ſtaid, and were in no need of uſing that Iriſh cuſtom, where they could not fail of being better provided. But if by *Gwyddelod* be meant the Aborigines---the firſt inhabitants---as it is not unlikely it may; for the two words that make up that name are purely Britiſh, viz. * *Gwydd* and *Hela*, i. e. *Wood-Rangers*, which was perhaps the common

* *Gwydd helad, Sylveſtres Homines.*] The propriety of that Britiſh appellative is ſo very agreeable, that if a colony of Britons were at this time in ſome parts of America, the original natives of the place, who live there by ranging and hunting in the woods, could be called by no fitter

common appellative of the Aborigines, loſt with us, and retained only by the Iriſh, then the objection falls to the ground; and the inſtance confirms the conjecture, that they are the remains of the firſt planters' habitations, while they were deſtroying the woods and cultivating the country.

Now on the whole matter—It being thus ſuppoſed that theſe original planters, after they had deſcended in their tribes and *Llwythau* from their upland holds, and diſperſed themſelves over the country, led a moveable life in their rural huts and cabbins, while they continued improving and bounding their particular allotments; this, I ſay, being ſuppoſed, it is I think but very reaſonable to imagine, that when theſe people had accompliſhed their works and effected their improvements, they no longer continued moveable and vagrant, but began to fix and eſtabliſh their dwellings in the moſt choſen and convenient place of the colony; and each dwelling being then become a ſtanding and permanent building, it was very proper to call it *Bôd*, that is, a fixed and ſettled being, or way of living; as this very ancient word *Bôd* ever imports—and for diſtinction-ſake among themſelves, with the addition perhaps of the founder's name, as *Bôd-Eon*, *Bôd-Ewryd*, *Bôd-Edern*, names very ancient and barbarous—or of ſome accident, as *Bôd-Cylched*, *Bôd-Ychen*, *Bôd-Filog*, &c.

Theſe *Bôds* were, it ſeems, the chiefeſt and principal manſions of every particular colony. But as the colonies increaſed and multiplied into leſſer and ſubdivided families, they were, it is natural to think, obliged to *Tir-rhannu*—to aſſign to each of thoſe ſubdiviſions their peculiar lots and portions of land to manure and huſband. And the rulers and principal aſſigners in each colony, they might properly enough call, from that act of ſharing and apportioning of lands, * *Tir-rhannwyr*. i. e. *Land-ſharers*. And ſhall I venture to deduce the τύραννοι of the Greeks, and *Tyranni* of the Latins from this origin? Greece and Italy being countries theſe people came into before they arrived here, the word naturally leans to this etymology.

Now theſe ſmaller portions or parcels of land, aſſigned and cantoned out in this manner to each leſſer houſhold in the *Bôd* or colony, might

name than *Gwydd heled*, i. e. *Wood-hunters*, by them; *Gwydd* being the ancient Britiſh name for *Wood*, as *Hela* is for *Hunting*, and *od* being the plural termination of many Britiſh words, eſpecially of living things, as *Cathod*, *Llewod*, *Llwynogod*, &c. it is therefore the moſt natural etymology of the name that I can imagine, laying aſide the Gaithelic ſtory, which who will may believe.

* Hence *Teyrn* and *Teyrnas*, *Mychdeyrn*, i. e. kings and monarchs.

very

very properly, from the particularity of ſuch aſſignments, be called *Tir-ef*, or *Tref*, that is, " Such a one's land;" for we find the ſame ſort of aſſignments among the ancient Saxons called *Hamlets*, (from *Ham*, ſignifying in the ancient Saxon language, *Dwelling* and *Let*, *ſetting forth* or *aſſigning*) importing the very ſame thing; as ſeveral different nations in many of their fundamental conſtitutions do often agree.

So alſo, when theſe inferior owners of ſuch allotted portions of land, ſo aſſigned to them by their heads and chiefs, had encloſed a ſpot of it for their own defence and commodity of dwelling; that ſmall encloſure, whether of wood or ſtone, might be called *Caer*, from the Celtic or old Britiſh word *Cau*; and that perhaps from the Hebrew word *Gaiaph*, to *fence* and *encloſe*—which, with ſubmiſſion, I rather take to be its true etymon than *Kir* or *Kiriah*, a *Wall* or *City*. Tho' afterwards, I confeſs, in ſome ages following, when towns and cities were built, the word *Caer* with us, and *Kiriah* with them, came to be tranſferred, and generally attributed and applied to thoſe greater and ſtronger holds and defences; yet with us ſome of thoſe ſmaller entrenchments retained the name of *Caer* and keep it to this day, with the uſual addition of the founder's name; as *Caer-Elen*, *Caer-Eneon*; or of ſome accident, as *Caer-dhu*, *Caer-nen*.

And as the word *Caer*, in this primary original denomination, related to *Tir-ef*, viz. " Such a one's land;" ſo I ſuppoſe it came to be called *Caer-tir-ef*, or *Cartref*, that is, " Such a one's home;" or the fort, hold, or the incloſed dwelling-houſe on ſuch a land. But now, ſince good laws and conſtitutions are become the defenſible encloſures of every man's houſe, the word *Cartref* or home has been promiſcuouſly uſed and applied to every particular habitation or dwelling.

And for the ſame reaſon, it ſeems, the ancient inhabitants of Ireland, when they encloſed about their principal ſeats and manſions (to ſhew another congruity of language as well as of practice with us) called ſuch places *Mhuir* or *Mur*, as we did *Caer*. For both *Mur* and *Caer*, in the Britiſh tongue, are words equally ſignifying an encloſed place. Thus the city of Tara in that kingdom was firſt called *Thea Mhuir* or *Mur*, i. e. the city of *Tea*, one of their queens. And when their druids had made it their chief ſeat and reſidence, by erecting therein a great ſchool or college of learning, *anno* 927, before the birth

of

of Chriſt, as their * memoirs have it, they then began to call it *Mur-Ollavan*, i. e. *The City of the Learned.* And *Caer-Edris* with us imports the very ſame thing; *Edris*, a name attributed to *Enoch* for his great knowledge in the ſciences of ancient times, being a derivative of the original word דרש *Daraſh*, *Inveſtigavit*, *perquiſivit*, *ſtuduit*, Arabicè, *doctus*, *eruditus*: In which reſpect, our *Caer-Edris* may equally with their *Mur-Ollavan*, and with as good propriety, be called *The City of the Learned*; and perhaps was ſo, and more anciently too, if our druids, near whoſe principal town it was ſeated, had been ſo juſt as to tranſmit to us an account of it. This *Edris* or *Idris*, a *Syro-Phœnician* word, might very probably (name and thing) be from thoſe countries, together with ſome of the earlieſt communications of knowledge, brought and conveyed to us—of which name we find remains yet, as *Bod-Edris*, *Cader-Edris*, &c. in other places among us. Alſo their *Dun-Ollavan*, or *Dun-Lavan* was probably another college, where it is obſervable, that our *Dun* or *Dinas*, another ancient word in the Britiſh tongue for *City*, is taken by them into the compoſition. I mention this here to ſhew the original agreement between the ancient Iriſh and the Britons in cuſtom and language, greatly betokening their being at firſt one and the ſame people, that is, the one a colony of the other.

* The Iriſh memoirs are undoubtedly in many things of good repute and credit, ſupported by the many weighty reaſons given in defence of them. That the Iriſh people had early learning among them, ſuch at leaſt as related to family-hiſtories, and the like, and that they made the beſt uſe of it, is not to be queſtioned. Their druids, having leſs power and authority among the people, became thereby, as more tractable, ſo more obliging, and kinder to poſterity than the Britiſh druids were, as will appear hereafter; who humorouſly bigotted in their way, by their haughty diſdain of letters and contempt of writing, treaſured all in their own noddles, whereas the Iriſh druids, leſs ſtrict in the ancient rules of their profeſſion, ſcrupled not to record in writing, and thereby tranſmitted to ſucceeding times the many hiſtories of their monarchs and princes, the genealogies of their chief tribes and families, and other occurrences of note, many of which are to this day to be ſeen among them. All which helps the Britons in a great meaſure wanted, by the inexcuſable pride and folly of our Britiſh druids, who ſuperſtitiouſly avoided that way of communicating. But how learned and knowing ſoever they were in many things, they buried all with them, to the exceeding loſs of poſterity, except what the learned in other nations took notice of, and left in their account of them. This unhappy temper of the Britiſh druids has left our nation ſo much in the dark, that during their time we have very little to depend on, but what the names of places, and other footſteps of ancient things, will give us room to make the beſt uſe we can of gueſſes and conjectures, But though our Britiſh druids did religiouſly abſtain from the uſe of writing; yet it is not unlikely, but that our bards and genealogiſts were men of greater latitude, and took the liberty to record in writing the names and deſcents, and ſome accounts alſo, of our Britiſh kings and princes; for it is owned by Cæſar himſelf, that they had letters among them, and that they ſometimes uſed them in their public and private affairs, though in things appertaining to religion they very ſtrictly forbore the uſe of them, and communicated their ſyſtems, *ore tenus*, in rhythmical odes and verſes, to their hearers.

This

This is what naturally occurs to my thoughts, of the original divisions and subdivisions of lands, and of the denomination of them in our ancient British language; I insist not in the least on it, farther than probable; who will, may reject it; and though I think the names of *Bôd*, *Tref*, and *Caer*, in that original imposition might import one and the same thing, but in different respects and degrees of subordination—that is, that every principal, divided and subdivided allotment or tenure, in respect of its mansion or dwelling-place, might be called *Bôd*; in respect of its defence and enclosure, *Caer*; and in respect of the lands annexed and appropriated to it, *Tref*—yet in succeeding ages, when the greater *Bôds* came to be multiplied and dwindled into numbers of separate households, and when some entrenchments grew to the strength and bigness of towns and castles, then some of those minute and lesser families assumed the name of *Bôd*, and some retained the name of *Tref*; but the name of *Caer* was generally taken up by greater forts, and afterwards applied to towns and castles. Though I must confess some of our most ancient entrenchments, that have been once considerable, are to this day frequently called *Caer*, sometimes with and sometimes without any addition to it.

Hence the names of * *Bôd* and *Tref* are very frequently to be found among us; but rarely *Caer*, except when applied to towns and cities or some noted entrenchments. And I make no doubt, but such English names of places as end in *ham's*, *bee's*, and *ton's*, as *Nottingham*, *Appleby*, and *Watlington*, and many more, are no other than these very *Bôds*, *Trefs* and *Caers*, expressed so in the Saxon tongue. And I am informed that in all Wales and Cornwall there are no names of places more common than these; except in South-Wales, where the name *Bôd* is not so frequent. And whether they are so in Armorica, Ireland, and in the Highlands, or whether they have other ancient names of the same signification, I yet want information. From these original divisions and distributions of lands we have now our manors, townships, and hamlets.

* From this *Bôd* I conceive we have *Hafod*, *Cwmbod* or *Cwmwd*; and from thence *Cwmbodog* or *Cwmydog*, *Cymmodi* and *Cymmwd*.

SECT.

SECTION IV.

Of the firſt language ſpoke in this iſle of Mona, *and whether it be the ſame with the preſent Welſh.*

THE firſt beginnings of nations having ſo little footſteps in hiſtory, no wonder if that of this little ſpot of earth in ſo obſcure a corner, as to true matter of fact, be as dark as we can imagine then the iſland. But in theſe inextricable receſſes of antiquity we muſt borrow other lights to guide us through, or content ourſelves to be without any. Analogy of ancient names and words, a rational coherence and congruity of things, and plain natural inferences and deductions grounded thereon, are the beſt authorities we can rely upon in this ſubject, when more warrantable relations and records are altogether ſilent in the matter.

What language was firſt ſpoken in the weſtern parts of Europe, it is not eaſy to determine; neither doth antiquity decide the point. All that it tells us is, that the ancienteſt names in ſeveral parts of the kingdom of France, and throughout the iſle of Great-Britain, are by the beſt congruity of ſound and reaſon of the thing, as our learned Camden and the French Bochart have made appear in ſeveral inſtances, reſolved to our preſent Welſh and Britiſh etymons; which muſt be an argument that this language at firſt gave them thoſe names—which names generally betokening the nature or ſome eminent property of the places or things ſo named (as the firſt impoſed names that were compounded of two or more ſounds expreſſing different ideas generally did), continued on them without any great alteration to this day.

But whether this language that beſtowed at firſt thoſe names upon them made any long ſtay in thoſe regions ſo remote from us, wherein it has left ſome marks and footſteps of its once being there; or whether thoſe firſt nations and conſequently the original languages, at the firſt peopling of the world after the univerſal deluge, like the billows of the ſea, juſtled and tumbled out one another, cannot indeed be certainly affirmed. Though, on conſideration of the paſſions of human nature, ſuch a procedure may appear very probable; yet it looks true upon very good grounds that that language, which firſt came over to the iſle of Albion or Great-Britain, was the ſame that continued in it for many

ages after; and conſequently muſt be the firſt language uſed and ſpoken in this part of it, the Iſle of Angleſey.

This language, call it Celtic or Britiſh, or what you will, was undoubtedly one of the primary vocal modes and expreſſions of mankind after the diſperſion at Babel. And indeed to trace this affair to the very root, to ſpeculate this ſubject after the true and natural idea of it, we muſt conceive all languages ſince the confuſion at Babel to be merely artificial and invented; excepting the ſacred Hebrew, which was inſpired, or at leaſt the reſult of the ſupernatural knowledge of the firſt man before the fall, and communicated to his poſterity.

For though God had originally implanted in the very eſſence of man the power and faculty of ſpeaking, and communicating to others the inward conceptions of his mind, by certain audible notes and marks of things—which notes and marks are made up of an infinite variety of the modulation of the voice and turns of pronunciation, which are words; yet for all this, the uſe and exerciſe of this power, as to the modification of thoſe marks and choice of words to expreſs the inward ideas and conceptions, is altogether arbitrary and elective; that is, in ſhort, altho' it be natural to ſpeak, yet to ſpeak this or that tongue or language is plainly artificial and voluntary.

This being the very caſe and circumſtance of all mankind at that time, when they were juſtly deprived of the uſe and memory of the firſt univerſal tongue, excepting the houſe and family of Heber; their former radicated habits and acquired arts of elocution being by that condign judgment taken away from them to the very bare power and faculty: the caſe being ſo I ſay, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, (the happineſs of ſocieties conſiſting in mutual aſſiſtance, and that in underſtanding one another) that the ſeveral ſocieties of thoſe people who departed from Babel, as they banded and aſſociated themſelves together to replant and inhabit again the face of the earth, made it their firſt and chiefeſt buſineſs to put in act, and exerciſe that power and faculty of ſpeaking, which only was left to them; by the exerciſe and practice of which power they might frame and excogitate words to carry out and communicate their thoughts and apprehenſions to each other, as the importance and exigencies of their various affairs called upon them to do.

Utilitas expreſſit nomina rerum. Lucret. lib. v. 1028.

In that work and labour of inventing new ways and forms of expreſſing their thoughts to one another (their former modes of utterance

being for a time rather * confounded than quite obliterated in that miraculous ſtupor) they could not chuſe, having their other ſenſes (except the memory, which ſeemed to have been grievouſly ſubverted) left to them entire and inviolate, but hit now and then, in cloathing their notions with new ſounds, upon ſome relicts and pieces of their old and ruined language; and from theſe relicts and ruins the primitive tongues borrowed and built their different and various ſtructures and compoſitions. Whence is it that moſt of the ancient languages of the world have more or leſs in them, according as they more or leſs degenerated from their ancient forms, words that are Hebrew or very little altered from it.

Thus the nations of the earth, as they divided themſelves into ſeparate communities and plantations, ſo each of theſe, falling upon a diſtinct ſet of words, improved their ſtock, and cultivated in a ſhort time their rude, groſs, unſhapen forms of ſpeech by a conſtant daily practice into various and diſtinct languages.

And ſo that language which diffuſed itſelf into this weſtern part of Europe, and arrived in the iſle of Great Britain, and at laſt crept into this corner of it, the Iſle of Mona, being one of thoſe primary tongues, we cannot but conceive it at its firſt coming here to be very poor and barren, as all other tongues then of the ſame riſe and progreſs generally were. For in thoſe circumſtances of a vagrant, looſe, unſettled life, as the notions of people were flat and vulgar, buſied only, it ſeems, about obvious ruſticities and the more urgent concerns of life; ſo may we imagine their expreſſions to have been very much contracted and ſcanty, rude and barbarous; conſiſting for the moſt part perhaps of a groſs heap of monoſyllables, and a few general words and compound names of things.

But when theſe people had in this iſle of Britain, as in other places of the world, fixed and ſettled themſelves here and there in ſeveral plantations and colonies; and when eaſe and opportunity by enlarging the object of their knowledge had made them more ſpeculative and thoughtful, they ſoon began to cultivate and augment their way and manner of ſpeaking—by daily inventing and adding new words—by

* The Scripture ſays, that God confounded the firſt tongue, Gen. xi. 9. we may note the word confound, *Balal* in the original, properly implies *diſordir* and *confuſion*; and therefore God in that act did not form any new languages, as ſome imagine, but deſtroyed and confounded the old, leaving mankind, from their innate power of ſpeaking, to frame new ones, as they banded together into ſeveral ſocieties and governments; which is an eaſy and natural account of that procedure, without recurring to miracles, and creating new languages inſtead of the old.

poliſhing

poliſhing and compounding the old, as freſh and unwonted occaſions offered and preſented themſelves, and as the overtures of affairs ſtirred and quickened their imaginations to give life and vigour to the performance.

And this improvement of language might ſo far proceed, in the ſeveral parts of one and the ſame nation and people, as to run itſelf into very diſtinct idioms and dialects, according as the differences of temper and remoteneſs of places gave occaſion. And hence the mighty differences at this day in the dialects of the Sclavon, Teutonic, and our own ancient Britiſh tongue do proceed, and are moſt rightly to be accounted for.

Now the language of the firſt inhabitants of the Iſle of Angleſey, though agreeing in root and ſubſtance with that of the reſt of the nation, as evidently appears by the ancient common appellations of towns, of mountains, of rivers, and the like, throughout the whole iſle of Britain; yet the particular improvement they made in the ſaid iſle of Angleſey, and its neighbouring borders, in enriching and poliſhing the tongue, might ſo far differ from other improvements made in the other provinces of the iſle of Britain, as plainly to diverſify their firſt and common language into unlike and different dialects, as they were obſerved to be in the days of Cæſar; and yet every one of thoſe idioms and different forms of ſpeaking, arriving to different degrees of poliſure and perfection, might in after-ages, as that of Cæſar's was, appear to ſtrangers as ſeveral different languages, as the Welſh and Corniſh, Highland-Scotch, Bretoon and Iriſh now do, though all proceeding from one common head or fountain, viz. the ancient Celtic or Britiſh tongue; and as of late the Roman Latin was the mother of the Italian, French, and Spaniſh tongues, and each of theſe of their ſubdivided dialects. Thus languages from one common root will naturally branch themſelves into variety of diviſions and improvements.

In the progreſs of this improvement, ſome languages went on by borrowing ſtrange and foreign words, advantaged by their mutual commerce and frequent intermixtures with other nations: And ſome others, perhaps more out of neceſſity and choice, ſet up on their proper ſtock and furniture—Of which laſt ſort I conceive the language of the Iſle of Mona and of its neighbouring borders to be; and on that account may be concluded the oldeſt and pureſt of all the Britiſh dialects. For this place being the fartheſt weſtern point of the whole region, the people of it muſt be preſumed to have had the leaſt commerce with

exotic forms and manners, and conſequently the language to be more free from the taint of foreign mixtures, than it was in the remoter parts of the nation, where its ancient purity muſt of neceſſity be expoſed to more frequent novelties and alterations.

And as it appears by this way of reaſoning, that the ſpeech and idiom of this iſland was the moſt pure and uncorrupted of all the Britiſh dialects; ſo likewiſe it may ſeem to have been, in its due ripeneſs and perfection, the moſt copious and polite one of the whole nation. The Iſle of Mona is, by warrantable ſuffrage of antiquity, celebrated for one of the firſt and moſt ancient nurſeries of the Britiſh druids; from whom, no doubt, the profound myſterious theorems of that learned ſect flowed in the choiceſt and moſt elaborate language of the time. And their language here being vernacular, the vulgar tongue of the place; that very vulgar tongue, under the influence and correction of ſo great maſters of it as theſe druids may be preſumed to have been, muſt needs participate very much of the copiouſneſs and clearneſs of theſe fountains; and by doing ſo, muſt expatiate and unfold itſelf in numerous variety of well choſen fitted words, and, which is its property, I may ſay its excellency, to this day, in exact ſignificancy and comprehenſiveneſs of expreſſion.

Now that the preſent Welſh, at this time ſpoken in the Iſle of Angleſey and her neighbouring countries, is that very language brought in by her firſt inhabitants, enlarged and poliſhed by the learned druids, modulated and ſweetened by the ancient bards (ſo that no poetry in the world is more various and artificial), and kept up and cultivated to this day by the enamoured votaries of the Britiſh muſes, is evident principally from theſe two reaſons.

First, There are very many ancient Britiſh words which have no reſemblance to, no coherence in ſound and ſignification with, the words of any other language in the world except the Hebrew, ſo as to be in any poſſibility of being derived from them, as far as could be yet perceived. This evinces that the Britiſh language is, in its radical parts at leaſt, plainly aboriginal: no footſteps of it any where appearing, but in thoſe places where it is allowed the antient Celtæ for ſome while inhabited, or their Gauliſh and Britiſh offspring had ſent their colonies. For, if this language of ours had come here, and had been derived from the language of any other part of the world, its ſpring and origin might be traced out. But ſince it cannot be done, among any nation or people, but within its own territories, it is a ſure argument,

ment, that it wholly depends upon its national origin and foundation; and conſequently that it is in ſubſtance the language of the firſt planters of this Britiſh iſle and nation, and therefore the firſt in this Iſle Mona.

SECONDLY, If it appears, that the ſame nation continued in this Iſle of Mona, in a conſtant uninterrupted ſucceſſion of people, from the firſt planting of it to this day; it follows that the ſame language theſe people uſed and practiſed (being ſo very good and expreſſive, as I have already ſhewn) muſt continue here as uninterruptedly as thoſe people whoſe language it was. For no reaſon can be given, why, by what means, and in what periods of time, this ſame language, the ſame people continuing, ſhould be exterminated or utterly ceaſe and periſh.

It is true, new people generally do introduce new languages, or very much corrupt and alter the old; but here we had no ſuch thing. There are no records, no authentic marks of antiquity, to ſhew us, that amidſt the various mutations of people, tongues, and nations, in the other parts of the world, the inhabitants of this little iſland have been ever diſſeiſed, or ſo outed of their primier poſſeſſion of it, as that any other nation or people took up their place, and kept themſelves poſſeſſed of it.

The Iriſh under *Sirig* the Rover, who once indeed drove the inhabitants out of the iſland, were ſoon after themſelves outed and expelled by *Melirion ap Meirchion*, and his couſin *Caſwallon law hir*, who killed the ſaid *Sirig* at a place called *Cappel Gwyddil*, as tradition has it. And when at other times theſe Iriſh pillagers came by ſtealth into the iſland, they were ſoon routed and driven out; ſo that they could not much prejudice the former ancient ſpeech uſed here, much leſs aboliſh it. No other nation ever attempted our expulſion. The Romans, Saxons, Danes and Normans ſought only our ſubmiſſion, and had it; but never any of them ſought to diſſeminate and enforce their language upon us *.

Now all this being conſidered, it is abſurd to imagine that a people ever remaining in their generations one and the ſame, in one and the ſame iſland, as theſe had done, and alſo ſo well qualified with promptneſs and facility of expreſſion, as theſe were, ſhould univerſally forſake and abandon their native language, without the appearance of any reaſonable cauſes inclining them to it. Yet, though it ſhould appear beyond denial, that this ancient language ſhould and did keep perpetual

* See this aſſertion contradicted in the preface to Dr. Davies's Grammar.

reſidence

reſidence from firſt to laſt in this little iſland, it cannot be doubted but that in the long ſpace of ſome thouſands of years, this language, though ever ſo complete and poliſhed, muſt alter very much in its mode and propriety of ſpeaking, according to the variety of times and humours of people; and ſo like a long continued river take in many branches, and probably loſe a few, in its conſtant flux and current.

Thus the Romans added ſome words, and the Danes and Saxons a few alſo, to our Britiſh dictionary; while deſuetude and oblivion ſwallowed a great many of the ancient ſounds of it, when new ones were entertained and cheriſhed. And of late, ſince the neighbouring Engliſh hath ſo much encroached upon it, and is become the genteel and faſhionable tongue among us, many more words lie by us obſolete and uſeleſs, which were before perhaps the flowers and ornaments of our language; and more ſtill would have done, if the commendable induſtry of ſome, affectionately devoted to the ancient language, had not by various indefatigable methods, oppoſed its diſſipation and ruin.

The words that have been thus neglected, and by diſuſe have periſhed, were for the moſt part, I ſuppoſe, certain adjectives and ſynonimous redundancies of the tongue, or terms relating to the laws, religion, and other ſuperannuated rites and methods of ancient times. For the people, I dare affirm, preſerved entire and uncorrupted the more ſubſtantial notations of things, from their firſt footing here to this day; as the original expreſſive names of the moſt known and remarkable objects among them, are, to any one that conſiders their true etymons, or thoſe moſt ancient ſounds and monoſyllables out of which they have been compounded, plain and undeniable evidences. *Wydd-va*, *Mall-traeth*, *Mael-fre*, *Cors-ddigai*, *Pen-Maen*, *Corn-wy*, *Eyryri*, and innumerable others, whoſe firſt originally impoſed names we have all reaſon in the world to believe were never altered, by the ſame people, retaining the ſame language, as theſe have done. And this we may ſafely conclude, becauſe ſuch compound names as expreſs the perpetual natures of the things they ſignify, as the firſt impoſed names generally did, may be well ſuppoſed to be original. And indeed ſuch names we now find to be ſo ſignificative, and ſo patly reſolvable to our Welſh etymons, that, granting thoſe names to have been originally impoſed, and allowing the parts of them to be purely Welſh, as certainly they are; if we were now to new-name them, we could ſcarce give them fitter names, and more expreſſive of their peculiar properties and natures, than thoſe we find originally impoſed on them. And thoſe names being in their

their parts and compoſition purely Welſh, what is more probable, than that *that* was the firſt, nay the only prevailing language, we ever had among us?

All this, with the guttural pronunciation of ſome of our ſyllables, the * reſemblance of many of our modern words, and the near affinity of our phraſe and ſyntax with the moſt ancient Hebrew tongue, is and will be a convincing argument, that our preſent language in the more radical ſtrokes of it, is one of the primary iſſues of that ſacred fountain —that is, is the chief remains of the ancient Celtic or Britiſh tongue, which, with our nation, hath kept its ground (what few or no other tongues of nations in the world have done) for about the ſpace of three thouſand and five hundred years.

SECTION VII.

The Laws and Religion of the firſt inhabitants of this Iſland.

WHEN the Iſle of Mona, as the other parts of the Britiſh iſles, became thoroughly improved and inhabited, and thoſe inhabitants had fixed and ſettled their abodes and colonies in the ſeveral diviſions of it; for their more ſecure enjoyment of what they poſſeſſed, and for a future eſtabliſhment of a peaceable and regular courſe of life, we may well conceive, that human nature, under the conduct and authority of their prime leaders or deputed ſovereigns, ſoon prompted them to the conſideration of two things, viz. Laws and Religion.—— Their ſtrong unbridled paſſions and interfering appetites neceſſarily forcing them to the uſe of the one; and their innate faculties, deeply impreſſed with the ſenſe of a deity, and of the immortality of their ſouls, ſeconded by the precepts and traditional documents of their elders, putting them inevitably on the performances of the other. *Uſu exigente* (as Juſtinian obſerves) *& humanis neceſſitatibus gentes humanæ quædam ſibi jura conſtituerant.*

Of what form and mode of inſtitution either of theſe at firſt were, we want direct authority to inform us. But, firſt, as to their laws and form of government in their divided and ſubdivided clans and families, here and in other countries, in thoſe firſt migrations of people, we have great inducement to believe, that their little cantons and œco-

* See the Table at the end.

nomies were altogether under the rule and government of, and ſwayed and directed by, the eldeſt living anceſtor of the tribe or colony, by right of primogeniture (which we find very anciently aſſerted and claimed in the expreſs caſe of Jacob and Eſau), with ſubmiſſion and deference nevertheleſs in matters of appeal or recognition to more ancient ſuperior ſovereigns; ſuch as no doubt they had at thoſe times (men then living to a great age) preſiding and reigning over many ſocieties of people deſcending from them: as Noah for inſtance and his three ſons, while they lived (and they lived many years, one of them five hundred years after the deluge) reigned over all the tribes of mankind. For it muſt be allowed that the moral law, which God had written in the hearts of men, was of force enough to influence and diſpoſe the communities of people in all countries to pay ſubmiſſion and obedience to, and thereby to eſtabliſh ſovereignty and regal authority in, thoſe perſons who were the chief heads of them, and out of whoſe loins they iſſued.

And indeed no leſs than this comes to ſeems to me to be hinted at by Moſes in the tenth chapter of Geneſis; where accounting for theſe diviſions under the ſons and grandſons of Noah, he ſays, they were divided or ſeparated, after their tongues, after their families, בגויהם *begojehem, in* their nations; implying that though their communities and ſeparated governments, over which their more immediate chiefs or heads of families preſided, were many, and far and wide extended; yet it is there expreſly ſaid, that however they were divided after their tongues and families, and how far ſoever they were diſperſed in planting their colonies, they were nevertheleſs comprehended, and remained incorporated *in* their peculiar nations, as the particle ב there plainly intimates; where the words expreſſing *tongues and families* have the particle ל before them, viz. *juxtà, ſecundùm*; differencing the import and meaning of the laſt from the two former—And that difference, not once but three or four times repeated, adds ſome weight to the obſervation I have made on this paſſage.

Now theſe nations being thus diſtinguiſhed by the holy penman, and the heads and rulers of theſe nations *there* expreſly named and recorded, by whom they were founded; being, every nation of them, the natural progeny and deſcendants of thoſe founders, as *they* were of Noah, who was the father of them all; and by that paternal right, while he lived (and he lived three hundred and fifty years after the flood) ſole monarch of the univerſe—it will follow undeniably, that as Noah was

by divine inſtitution, grounded on the moral law, the ſupreme monarch of the world; ſo that power and governing authority, which he bequeathed and tranſmitted to his ſons and grandſons (founded on the ſame paternal right, and ſo from them, in all the branches of it, to the ſmalleſt colony) was the ſame; that is, was purely * regal—and ſo continued, till Nimrod in the Eaſt and the Titans in the Weſt, by uſurpations and conqueſts deformed the original ſcheme, and founded new empires.

And as this authoritative part of government, from which laws take their life and ſanction, was apparently from the divine right which parents have to rule and govern the families iſſuing from them, when no ſuperior right overſways; ſo in our part of the world, which I am now accounting for, the laws and orders which were then made, being rules by which thoſe families under ſuch governor's care and inſpection were to act, and conform themſelves to, muſt bear the ſtamp and lie under the regulation of this authority. Yet as to the matter and import, as to the ſorts and qualities of theſe laws, we muſt conclude them not to be uniform in all places; for that is not to be imagined—but very various and different, according to the different ends and cauſes of them, in ſeveral colonies,

And on this account it will ſeem very probable, that in thoſe earlieſt ages, when people were juſt fixing themſelves, and their rulers or *Tyrrhannwyr* were diſtributing them into clans and ſocieties; I ſay it ſeems very likely then, that juſtice and civility, that is, a ſtrict inviolable regard of permitting every one to live ſafely, and to enjoy his own without diſturbance or oppreſſion, made up the only legal pacts and regulations among them; agreed to by the obeying people, and equally adjuſted to the honour, ſupport, and ſervice of their chiefs, and to the welfare and ſafety of every particular perſon. And in that caſe and to that end, there is little doubt to be made, but that theſe deputed chiefs and proprietors of new ſettlements, which they and their offspring were to poſſeſs and inhabit, having the ſame authority over their deſcendants as their elders had over them in the like circumſtances, took great care in the diſtribution of *Bôds* and tribes, not only to aſſign their bounds

* If mankind ſprang from one man, then the original power was one and monarchical; if from many, as the heathen opinion was, then it was democratical; the arguments on either ſide will hold, and are convertible: for if the original power was democratical, then mankind originally ſprang out of many; if regal and monarchical, then all people derive their origination from one man, of which the Scripture is a ſure warrant.

(from which act of assignment I take the name *Tyr-rhannwyr* with us, and *Tyranni*, τύραννοι, in other nations to come) but also to establish such laws and provisions in every assignment or *Rhandyr*, which name we still retain, as obliged every person within the district to live peaceably on his own; and also to contribute according to certain stated rules—which it is not to be expected can be now determined—towards the support of the state and dignity of such as had authority to protect and govern them in their particular colonies.

And also, if it should happen that any of these chiefs and rulers should so far exceed the power of a father, by which he was to govern justly and mildly, as to encroach over-much on his people's rights and possessions, and thereby occasion the abuse of that, at first, laudable name *Tyrannus* to be what we now call Tyrant; it is not to be imagined, but that such a case, so obvious to be foreseen, was consulted and provided against by their wise progenitors in the first distribution of those powers—who might either appoint a league or union among several neighbouring colonies, or make some head or chief, inheriting by primogeniture the superior rights of some common ancestor, to be responsible unto, as having a paramount authority and power vested in him to correct exorbitances, and to rectify what might happen amiss.

And such rules and overtures being very necessary among the encreasing colonies to avoid confusion and rebellion, we cannot think that Noah, Japheth, and Gomer, from whom our nation descended, would be wanting in supplying us with such political documents as tended to maintain peace and regularity in all our settlements. Nay, for some proof of this, among those rules which go under the name of the *Statutes of the Sons of Noah*, the credit of which is indeed by some disputed, but strongly defended by our learned Selden * and others, we find one of them to be, *De judiciis*, viz. of making decisions and giving judgments, which in all probability related to this particular.

This way of governing in the first ages of the world—for I only undertake here to account for the *first* planting of these countries, before the Titan princes, who were of our own race and language, as appears by the † names of several of them, overspread Europe with their conquests

* De Jur. Nat. & Gent. lib. i. cap. 10.

† Achmon, i. e. *Bon-ach* or *Achau*; probably so called by his posterity, as being head of their lineage.

Vranus, i. e. *Vrenin*, ur an (vir supremus) Achmon's son.

conqueſts—ſeems to be moſt warrantable in itſelf; as being founded on the divine right of paternal authority, and alſo agreeable to the word of God. For as that word informs us that all power is from God, who created one man to people, and miraculouſly preſerved another with his family to re-people the world; ſo it plainly points out to us the courſe and conveyance of this power, and as plainly ſhews us the form and manner of it. And though, by the neceſſity of times and places and other exigencies of human affairs, this authority and power became afterwards divided into abundance of little lordſhips and principalities, and confined within very ſmall territories and juriſdictions; yet as to the nature of it, in the moſt diminutive colonies, where people obeyed one lord or chief, it was as monarchical as in the largeſt kingdoms.

I need not wade far in theſe deep obſcurities of time to trace this affair of laws and government, and how they were firſt conſtituted. Hiſtory ſoon relieves me; proving what I ſaid to our hands, by making its firſt accounts of kings and princes reigning not only here, but in every part of the world it touches upon. It ſhews how great empires were ſoon after the diſperſion erected, partly by conqueſts, and partly by reſuming to the ſurviving heirs of ſome of the firſt anceſtors of na-

Saturnus, i. e. *Saf-teyrn* (imperator ſtabilis) the firſt fixed and ſettled monarch; ſon of Vranus.
Jupiter, Jovis, i. e. *Jevanc* (juvenis princeps) Saturn's ſon.
Hercules, i. e. *Erchyll* (horrendus) a noted tyrant and deſtroyer of people.
Vulcanus, i. e. *Mael-gyn* or *Mael-gynta* (M pro V, ut ſæpe in vocib. Brit.) the inventor, or firſt wearer of ſteel armor.
Mars, Mavors, i. e. *Mawr-rwyſc*, powerful, warlike; now *Maurice* or *Moris*.
Mercurius, i. e. *Marcb-wr*, horſeman, or a ſpeedy meſſenger; hence the Britons called him *Teutates*, *Duw-taith*, the traveller's deity.
Neptunus, i. e, *Nof ddyſn* (ſuper aquas natans) a ſea-faring prince.
Triton, i. e. *Trwydon* (per undas vagans) another ſea-captain.
Apollo, i. e. *ap Haul*; Apollinis, *ap Heulyn* (filius ſolis).
Rhea, Jove's mother, i. e. *Rhies*, a lady or princeſs.
Juno, i. e. *Gain* or *Coin*, fair; now *Gainor*.
Venus, i e. *Gwen*, white.
Diana, i. e. *Di anaf*; ſpotleſs, chaſte, unharmed.
Minerva, i. e. *Min-Arfau*; as if, among other arts, inventreſs of tempering and ſharpening of mechanical tools and weapons.

Now, if the ſignification of ſounds, whereof names conſiſt, will be allowed to give good evidence what language they were taken from and derived, I think none can make a better claim to the etymology of theſe Titan names, agreeable with the known circumſtances and quality of the perſons ſo named, than what the ancient Celtic or Britiſh tongue evidently doth; and how this came to paſs, and on what account thoſe Titans, who were afterwards made heathen gods, came to have theſe Britiſh names, there being undeniably more of Britiſh than of any other language in them, I ſhall hereafter have occaſion to mention. More of their names may have the ſame origin, but many of our old words, and by them the way of finding it, being loſt, theſe I have now produced will ſerve to prove that we and they were then one and the ſame nation.

tions the power, or at leaſt the ſubmiſſion, of theſe little princes, who perhaps owed them, on that right of primogeniture, what we now call homage and dependance. See Gen. xxvii. 29. where the patriarchal right of diſpoſing ſovereignties by birth-right is exemplified. But yet that right is in ſome caſes forfeitable; as in the caſe of Eſau in the cited text, and of Reuben in the firſt of Chron. v. 1—by which it appears that hereditary right is not in all caſes indefeaſible.

But theſe mighty hunters, as the Scripture calls them, did not long prevail in theſe weſtern parts of the world. The raviſhed power, wrongfully wreſted and inſulted upon, ſoon returned to its ancient channels, except in a few places, where that irregular ambition reverſed its courſe, and crept into private breaſts, ejecting kings and ſetting up republics. Theſe of old were wens that grew out of the corruption of kingly government: But from the beginning it was not ſo.

It ſhews us alſo, that on the mighty encreaſe of the Roman empire, all Germany, Gallia, Spain, and Britain ſwarmed with vaſt numbers of petty kings and ſovereigns; and thoſe alſo had many lords and rulers of people under them, who governed their own vaſſals with ſovereign authority.

In Britain theſe little lords and rulers confederated together into formed communities of ſeveral denominations: Trinobantes, Brigantes, Iceni, Silures, Ordovices, and many more. Some of theſe had kings: Others on occaſion choſe captains and leaders to manage their warfare; of which laſt ſort I take the Ordovices to have been; under which name the inhabitants of this Iſle of Mona, when the Romans invaded us, were reckoned.

This Cornelius Tacitus ſomewhat plainly intimates, when deſcribing the war againſt the Silures and Ordovices over whom Caractacus was general, he repreſents him ſtyling himſelf *Plurium gentium imperator*, captain-general of many nations *. And yet theſe could be but the Ordovices and Silures, divided into many ſepts and tribes, which he calls nations. Hence alſo it was, that Tacitus ſays of the Ordovican army in that expedition, "The leaders of every nation went about exhorting and encouraging their men." And giving further account of thoſe mens courage and reſolution, he ſays, "They bound themſelves, every one by oath [*Gentili religione*] according to the religion of his country;" which ſhews that the body of this Ordovican army conſiſted of

* Corn. Tacit. Annal. lib. xii.

petty

petty lords and toparchs, whoſe little dominions or *Llwythau* had their ſeveral laws and uſages. A reſemblance of which we find at this day in the highlands of Scotland; where, notwithſtanding the laws of the kingdom, the heads and chiefs of colonies, which corruptly they call Clans, have or pretend to have as much commanding right over their vaſſals, as any German prince has over his lawful ſubjects. And what of this law and government remained with the Britons in Wales I ſhall hereafter have another occaſion to mention.

Secondly, As we find but little of theſe peoples firſt laws and civil conſtitutions, ſo alſo the firſt religion of the original colonies of this Iſland cannot now be particularly determined from any ſchemes of it delivered to poſterity. All therefore that we can judge of the matter is either *à priori*, from the natural grounds and cauſe of it; or *à poſteriori*, from the viſible effects and conſequences of it; as each of theſe occur, and are diſcoverable to us.

From the firſt of theſe methods, viz. *à priori*, I have this to ſay; that the moſt ancient of thoſe people who came firſt into this iſland, were, as may be well preſumed from the calculation of the encreaſe of mankind after the flood, within four or five deſcents at fartheſt from Noah or one of his ſons. It is therefore highly reaſonable to think, that that great leſſon of omnipotence, juſtice, and mercy, which God taught thoſe eight perſons in the ark, muſt have been well remembered and contemplated in thoſe early periods of time; and muſt needs have wrought in the minds of thoſe people clear and vigorous apprehenſions of the adorable attributes of God; and thereby have diſpoſed them to a juſt ſenſe in themſelves of their own meanneſs and inconſiderableneſs, and of their neceſſary and abſolute dependance on the ſupreme beneficent Being they adored and venerated.

This ſolid foundation of true religion and worſhip, we may well ſuppoſe, was ſo deeply laid and ſettled in the minds of men for ſome centuries after the flood, that many people in their ſeveral ſettlements and colonies, at theſe earlieſt times, raiſed upon it acceptable adorations of the true, only, ſupreme God. And conſequently I may preſume to affirm, that ſome of the firſt planters of this Iſland, being ſo near in deſcent to the fountains of true religion and worſhip as to have one of Noah's ſons for grandſire or great-grandſire, may be well imagined to have carried and conveyed here ſome of the rites and uſages of that true religion, pure and untainted in their firſt propagating of them: though I muſt confeſs they ſoon after became, as well here as in other countries, abominably

abominably corrupted, and perverted into the groſſeſt heatheniſh fictions and barbarities.

If we conſider the ancient ſtate of true religion, we ſhall find it, in the primitive and natural impreſſions of it, to have been very conciſe and central—ſeated only in the heart, and aimed and directed thence to God, its true and only ſovereign; and therefore exerting itſelf in very few external rites and performances, viz. only in thoſe of oblations and ſacrifices; wherein the ſincere worſhippers of God, in thoſe external acts, both ſubmiſsly recognized and adored the divine majeſty, and at the ſame time propitiated and atoned for their own acknowledged guilts and delinquencies.

Now as this ſhort contracted ſcheme of their firſt divinity was ſoon learned, and as eaſily communicated, ſo we may charitably think that very many of our firſt plan ers ſincerely kept to it, in the ſeveral advances of their colonizing progreſſions, until they came to fix and ſettle themſelves. But when that happened, as conſtant toil and labour ſerved before to kindle and unite their zeal and devotion towards Heaven, ſo then eaſe and opportunity, ever the corruptors of the minds of men, gave them way to bend and ſport with that ſacred lamp of religion, which at firſt blazed and, as I may ſay, coned directly upwards, ſo as to diſtort it into almoſt infinite varieties of idolatrous modes and inventions.

It being granted that oblations and ſacrifices were the chief public and viſible acts of the religion and worſhip of thoſe ancient times; we may next conceive, that at that time the warmth and light of that religion, when in its purity and candor, had a very apt and natural tendency to move and direct thoſe people, at every place they fixed and choſe to dwell in, to raiſe up altars to the great deity; on which they offered and ſent up to Heaven their thanks and praiſes for its manifold bleſſings on their attempts and adventures, in their oblations and ſacrifices of ſuch good things as the places they were in afforded. And in ſuch acts and devotions it ſeems they wanted not rules and precepts for thoſe performances, inculcated and communicated to them from Noah himſelf, that great preacher of righteouſneſs; or at leaſt they might be led and guided to them by his great example, (Gen. viii. 20.) who no ſooner was out of the ark, but his firſt work was to erect an altar, and offer ſacrifice unto the Lord.

Thus it is warrantable to think, that this great example, together with the force and influence of Noah's exhortations, prevailed on many of his deſcendants,

deſcendants, as they proceeded on in peopling the earth, to erect altars either of ſtone or earth, for of both ſorts they had, in every country they came into, to offer to God their adorations and moſt ſolemn and grateful acknowledgments of his goodneſs unto, and of his ſovereignty over, the ſons of men.

And therefore it is (to proceed to my ſecond argument in this method, viz. *à poſteriori)* that from the effects and viſible monuments of this firſt religion, we are left to gueſs at the cauſe and quality of it. Of this ſort of evidence we have one great altar of ſtone, of conſiderable bigneſs, upon the bank of the river *Menai*, now in the pariſh of *Llan Edwen*, which may ſeem to have been, as the biggeſt, ſo the firſt and chiefeſt one of the whole iſland; whereon the firſt-fruits of the place might be offered to God by thoſe very firſt men who came into it. Though afterwards other ſuch altars were erected for the religious worſhip and the performances of oblations and ſacrifices in the ſeveral colonies of it, of which not a few remain ſtanding here and there to this day.

Theſe altars of ſtone (where ſtone ſerved to raiſe them up) were huge broad flattiſh ſtones mounted up and laid upon other erect ones, and leaning, with a little declivity in ſome places, on thoſe pitched ſupporters; which poſture, for ſome now-unaccountable reaſons, they ſeem to have affected. Theſe altars were and are to this day vulgarly called by the name of *Crom-lech*; either from their bending poſition, which is generally believed; or rather (that bending poſture being not always to be found in every one of thoſe monuments, nor indeed applicable to the idea and notion of *Crom* in our language) that theſe firſt men—I ſhall adventure to gueſs—carried the name with them from Babel, as they did ſeveral other words, and called it *Cæræm-lech*, from the Hebrew חרם לוח i. e. *Cærem-luach*, a devoted ſtone or altar.

It is not improbable neither, but that they did ſometimes prefix the word *Cærem* or *Crem* to other things belonging to their ſacrifices beſides ſtone-altars, though now ſuch names be quite diſuſed and utterly loſt and forgotten; ſave in one or two places, which are called *Crem-lwyn*, or *Cremlyn*, as generally pronounced; in one of which places there are ſome ſtone-monuments and a ſtanding *Cromlech* near it (as if it had been one of their *Cremlwynau* or ſacrificing groves) ſhewing tokens of ſome extraordinary celebration of that place.

I have made frequent enquiries into the traditions of places concerning the original of theſe *Cromleche*, and only found them by ſome called

Coetene

Coetene Arthur, i. e. *Arthur's Quoits*. Others would have them to be the ſepulchres of ſome renowned commanders, or great men of yore, who fell and were interred in thoſe places. Of the firſt, it is uſual with the vulgar to aſcribe all uncouth gigantic things to king Arthur, the great hero of our Britiſh fables. In the latter, I deny not but there may be ſome appearance of truth, and yet conſiſtent enough with what I have ſaid of them. For they might be both ſepulchres and altars in a different ſenſe, I mean thoſe of latter erection; becauſe when the great ones of the firſt ages fell, who were eminent among the people for ſome extraordinary qualities and virtues, their enamoured poſterity continued their veneration of them to their very graves—over which they probably erected ſome of theſe altars or *Cromleche*; on which, when the true religion became depraved and corrupted, they might make oblations and offer ſacrifices to their departed ghoſts. From this practice, it is likely, grew the apotheoſis of the firſt heroes, and from thence the groſs idolatries of the Gentiles.

There are alſo huge coped heaps of ſtones in many places, as well in this iſland as in other countries, to be yet ſeen; which I take to be the relics of ſome ancient modes and ceremonies of that firſt (but by that time perverted) religion. And theſe heaps they generally call *Carnedde*, perhaps from קרן נד i. e. *Keren Nedh*, a coped heap.

It is believed alſo, that theſe too are the burial-places of ſome eminent commanders, who falling and being interred in thoſe places, their admiring ſoldiers, as a ſignal ſpecimen of their love and reſpect to their memory, and to make ſhew of their numbers, carried each one his ſtone to lay upon their graves, as they carried earth in their helmets, in other countries, to raiſe up a *Tumulus* or a laſting monument and memorial of them. But the latter part of this ſurmiſe is not like to be the true reaſon of theſe *Cumuli*. For there are ſome of theſe heaps ſo large, that they required a more numerous army than ever was in this iſland to bring every one his ſtone to raiſe it up. And beſides, there are certain kinds of ſtones to be found in ſome of theſe *Carnedde*, that have been carried there, as will appear by the quality of them, from very diſtant parts of the country; which will ſeem rather to infer that they were the effects of ſome kinds of ſacrifice, where every family, or perhaps every particular perſon, either at ſome peculiar feſtivals, or occaſionally as they chanced to paſs by, brought and offered each one his ſtone; of which we have ſome glimmering in the ancient compound word *Coel-Faen* uſed to this day; by which is expreſſed what is good and valuable. And we

have moreover ſome ſhadows and remains among us of the very action in our *Coel-ceithie*, which perhaps were originally private ſacrifices, kindled any where about the houſe to the *Penates* or houſhold-gods, as the other was public and local. For into theſe *Coel-ceithie* people uſe, even to this day, to throw and offer each one his ſtone, though they know not for what. The Iriſh alſo have theſe anniverſary firings, and call them *Breocval*, i. e. *Breoch Cual*, whether from *Coel* I know not. And they call an oath *Mionna*, perhaps from this word *Maen*. For it is certain that people in ancient times ſwore and made covenants upon ſtones; which might be the reaſon the ancient Britons put the word *Maen* in their form of ſwearing—as *Maen Jaco*, *Maen Elian*, corruptly *My'n*: and the Greeks have ſomething like it, when they ſwear Μὰ Δία, by their great Jupiter.

It may be objected here, that our *Coel-ceithie*, celebrated on the laſt of October, were rather continued memorials either of ſome notable victories obtained by the ancient Britons againſt, or of ſome ſignal deliverances from, their enemies; which indeed is what is generally conceived of them. But the word *Coel*, of which it is compounded, gives ſtronger grounds of probability that it really was ſome ſolemn appurtenance of religion, though now quite forgotten—as *Coel-bren*, *Coel-grefydd*, and *Coelio* ſeem to intimate; being all words expreſſing ſome rites and uſages of religion. But whether the word be *Coel-Gerth*, *à difficultate impetrationis*; or *Coel-Coeth*, *à peccatorum purgatione*; or *Coel-Ceith*, *ab oblatorum uſtione*, I will not pretend to determine *.

Theſe *Carnedde* are in ſmaller proportions in ſeveral parts of this iſland; though not taken notice of, becauſe generally the leſſer heaps are hid out of ſight by a covering of thorns and buſhes, and ſometimes a graſſy mould or earth growing over them. And of theſe leſſer heaps of ſtones I take the common tradition to be right, in making them originally the graves of men, ſignal either for eminent virtues or † notorious villanies: on which heaps every one probably looked upon himſelf obliged, as he paſſed by, to beſtow a ſtone, in veneration of his good life and virtue, or in deteſtation of his vileneſs and improbity. And this cuſtom, as to the latter part of the conjecture, is ſtill practiſed among us. For when any unhappy wretch is buried *in biviis*, on our croſs-ways, out of Chriſtian-burial, the paſſengers for ſome while throw ſtones on his grave, till they raiſe there a conſiderable heap; which has made it a proverbial

* It is written *Coelcath*, *Cocleth*, and *Coelcaith*.

† Joſhua vii. 26.

curſe, in ſome parts of Wales, to ſay, *Karn ar dy ben**, that is, *Ill betide thee.* I have cauſed one of theſe leſſer *Cumuli* to be opened, and found under it a very curious urn. And it is well known to have been the ancient practice of many other nations to raiſe ſepulchral heaps on the places of the interment of their dead.

But of the larger *Carneddu*, ſuch as are in ſome places to this day, of conſiderable bulk and circumference; I cannot affirm them to be any other than the remains and monuments of ancient ſacrifices, the poſitive rites of religion and worſhip at thoſe times. And though the particular manner and circumſtances of that ſort of worſhip, viz. by throwing and heaping of ſtones, are found extant in no records at this day, except what we have of the ancient way of worſhipping Mercury in that manner; yet ſome hints there are of it in the moſt ancient hiſtory of Moſes, particularly in that ſolemn tranſaction between Laban and Jacob, which may be ſuppoſed to be an ancient patriarchal cuſtom, univerſally ſpread in thoſe coarſe unpoliſhed times; and conſequently might and did, as the viſible remains of it ſtill witneſs, prevail in remoter countries alſo, and even in this I am now ſpeaking of.

The paſſage I offer for it is very plain and full to the purpoſe, as to thoſe countries which Moſes mentions. And while our monuments agree exactly with thoſe deſcriptions, I take it not unreaſonable to aſcribe them to the ſame cauſes.

"And Jacob ſaid unto his brethren, Gather ſtones; and they brought ſtones, and made a heap; and they did eat there upon the heap." Gen. xxxi. 46. Now the deſign of this whole affair was to corroborate the pact † and covenant mutually entered into by theſe two perſons, Jacob and Laban, with the moſt binding formalities and obligations. Theſe obligatory ceremonies being then, I ſuppoſe, their law of nations; and theſe forms univerſally applied to by perſons of different intereſts and parties, as the moſt ſolemn ſanction of that law. The whole tenor of it runs thus: "Moreover Laban ſaid unto Jacob, Behold this heap, and behold this pillar, which I have ſet between me and thee; this heap ſhall be a witneſs, and this pillar ſhall be a witneſs, that I will not come over this heap to thee, and that thou ſhalt not come over this heap and this pillar to me, for evil." Ver. 51, 52.

This whole affair has no ſemblance of a new inſtitution, but is rather a particular application to a general practice; becauſe concluded by a

* Literally, *A heap on thy head.* † עמוד *Ammod* ſignifies a pillar; from whence probably our word *Ammod* for a *covenant* might be derived.

ſacrifice, the higheſt act of their religion, and not to be attempted by every private fancy; and not only concluded by a ſacrifice, but that ſacred action ſeems to have been a main part of it, and the chief end for which it was inſtituted; and together with the other circumſtances, made up one ſolemn religious ceremony. "And Jacob offered ſacrifice upon the mount," that is, the heap, "and called his brethren to eat bread." Gen. xxxi. 54.

Now by what appears from the context, this whole tranſaction was a religious ceremony, inſtituted to adjuſt and determine rights and poſſeſſions in thoſe times between different parties and colonies. And as it ſeems to have been one of thoſe *Noachidum ſtatuta*—of the ſtatutes of the ſons of Noah, as they called them; ſo it is likely that the colonizing race of mankind brought and carried with them ſo neceſſary an appurtenance of their peace and ſecurity of living, as this inſtitution was, wherever they came to fix and ſettle themſelves;—that they carried at leaſt the ſubſtance of the ceremony, though they might here and there vary in ſome rules of application; or perhaps pervert it to other uſes than what it was deſigned and intended for. And hence we conclude that our larger heaps and *Carnedde*, with their ſtanding pillars by them, which they generally have, are no other than the remaining marks and evidences of that religious ceremony and cuſtom, recorded only by Moſes in the caſe of Jacob and Laban, but practiſed alſo in other countries, particularly in this iſland, as will appear not improbable by the reaſons which I ſhall preſume to offer.

FIRST, The adjuſtment of perſonal and provincial rights and properties, by ſo binding and ſacred an eſtabliſhment as this ſeems to have been, was as neceſſary, and conſequently as likely, to have been conveyed and made uſe of here among our communities and ſettlements, as in thoſe countries where Moſes has ſo particularly deſcribed it.

SECONDLY, Why ſhould our heaps and *Carnedde* agree ſo exactly in their make and poſition with the deſcription which Moſes gives of thoſe in the land of Haran? And,

THIRDLY, How ſhould our columns and pillar-ſtones come to be generally placed near our heaps, as thoſe deſcribed by Moſes were, if it was not, that both that cuſtom there and this here proceeded from one origin, the patriarchal practice.

This conſidered, it will remain probable that our *Carnedde*, agreeing in their make and circumſtances with thoſe heaps, are no other than the remaining monuments of that moſt ancient religious ceremony;

taught perhaps by the ſons of Noah, if not derived from antediluvian precedents—though it happened to be mentioned only by Moſes in that circumſtance of Jacob and Laban in the land of Haran. Agreement and congruity of make, poſition, and peculiar circumſtances, generally betoken identity of uſe and practice.

Beſides theſe *Cumuli*, we have alſo long pitched ſtones or great rude columns, ſtanding ſometimes ſingly, ſometimes many together, ſometimes in good order, and ſometimes without any, in many places of this, as well as of other countries; and commonly called by the inhabitants *Meini-Hirion*, *Meini-Gwyr*, *Lleche*, or the like, as they pleaſe to fancy; which I have preſumed to *conjecture* alſo to have been memorials of ſome of our firſt planters' original cuſtoms and ceremonies.

I will not ſay they were erected on the ſame account with that of Jacob in Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 18. But if it be allowed us to gueſs in this atter, they ſeem to me rather to have taken their origin from that general bent and ambition of mankind to perpetuate, and as far as they could to immortalize, their otherwiſe frail and periſhing names, in thoſe laſting and durable monuments. Of which the tower of Babel was a great and general ſpecimen: "Let us make us a name." Gen. xi. 4. And the pillars of Rachel and Abſalom are full and pregnant particular inſtances. Gen. xxxv. 20. 2 Sam. xviii. 18.

Theſe rude erected pillar-ſtones, though at firſt perhaps ſet up for good and warrantable purpoſes, might, and we may well believe, did become afterwards in theſe countries (as we find the like ſort of pillars to have been in other countries about Syria and Paleſtine) the objects of idolatrous worſhip. For whether they clad and dreſſed up the pillars here into the ſhapes of men, or made them ſupporters of thoſe twiggen images Cæſar mentions, at ſuch times as they were worſhipped, is uncertain. Yet ſure we are, that the ancient Jews in thoſe mentioned countries made idols of them, and frequently worſhipped them; as appears plainly in 2 Kings xvii. 10. "They made them images," i. e. ſtanding pillars, ſays the Sacred Hiſtory, "and groves upon every high hill, and under every green tree." For it is evident the original word in this text, however the Seventy and ſubſequent tranſlators came to render it *Images*, is *Matzebah*, i. e. a rude unhewn, uneffigiated pillar-ſtone, juſt the ſame ſort as thoſe of Jacob, Rachel, and Abſalom were; every one of which is expreſſed in Scripture by the ſame word *Matzebah*, from *Jatzab* to pitch or erect—*Tzelom*, *Pezel*, *Teraph* being in the original tongue the conſtant appellatives of a true *Image*. From whence it is manifeſt

manifeſt that theſe rude, unſhapen pillars, ſuch as Jacob's, Rachel's, and Abſalom's are deſcribed to have been, were by thoſe apoſtatizing Jews undoubtedly worſhipped.

Now all this conſidered, it will appear probable, ſince we have ſuch plenty of theſe pillar-ſtones among us, exactly correſponding to the deſcription given by infallible authority of thoſe in Syria and Paleſtine, which were undoubtedly worſhipped by the idolatrous Jews; I ſay it will appear probable that ours were ſo too, and that wicked cuſtom and uſage of adoring them at length prevailed with them and us too, from a reſpect and veneration at firſt given to them as ſymbols and memorials of ſacred things; which, it ſeems, our prieſts and druids ſoon learned from their neighbours, or rather found conveyed here by the firſt planters, and then improved them with their other ſymbols of heaps and altars into a conſiderable part of their religious ſyſtem. Of whom, and of which I ſhall next proceed to treat.

SECTION VIII.

Of the ancient Druids; of their choice of the Iſle of Mona *for their principal ſeat and habitation; of their philoſophy and diſcipline; and of the Iſle of* Mona *being anciently called* Mam Gymru.

I MUST begin here *à priori*, as I did in the laſt ſection; that is, from the neceſſary grounds and reaſons of mankind's firſt actions in colonizing the earth, I ſhall endeavour to eſtabliſh ſuch poſitions as are moſt coherent with, and conformable to nature, under ſuch and ſuch circumſtances, and moſt agreeable to the truth of records and appearances of things. By which method I am obliged to lay down as a firm foundation, Firſt, that a ſet form of ſpeech; Secondly, that a determined ſcheme of laws; and, Thirdly, that a ſettled ſyſtem of religion, jointly and naturally adhered to and accompanied the divided knots and ſocieties of mankind, in the various advances of their progreſſion and travels; and were conveyed with them into thoſe countries they fixed and ſettled in.

This being ſuppoſed, it will in the next place be very obvious and natural to think, that each of theſe primary acquiſitions, viz. Language, Laws, and Religion, as they were at firſt more rude and contracted, more rough and unpoliſhed, only proportioned and adapted to the mere neceſſities of life, and to the then narrow and conciſe performances of divine worſhip;

worship; ſo when the ſeveral tribes and claſſes of people began to fix and ſettle themſelves into formed and regular ſocieties—then I ſay theſe acquiſitions, theſe rational *acts* of human life began to open and diſplay themſelves, to ſcour off their original rudeneſſes, and to appear here and there more prompt, uſeful, and comprehenſive. The languages in a ſhort time became more trim and copious. The laws more nervous and vigorous, juſtly ſuited to the advantages of communities. And religion, the miſtreſs of all, variegated and ſet herſelf off in multitudes of pompous ſhews and appearances.

Together with theſe firſt acquiſitions of mankind grew up the leiſurely improvements of natural and metaphyſical knowledge; though theſe I confeſs have been much influenced and directed by the traditional *Cabala*, chiefly cheriſhed and preſerved *in ſcholâ patriarchali*—in the patriarchal repoſitory—with which the prime *ſophi* of many of the firſt nations, it is allowed, had frequent intercourſes and communication.

Now towards this improvement of natural and ſupernatural knowledge in theſe early ages of the world, we may obſerve many helps and advantages to accrue naturally to theſe firſt eſtabliſhers, as well of arts as of empire, in the many regions and countries they came into.

FIRST, Their moſt important indefatigable endeavours *in arte ſignorum*—in framing, enlarging, and poliſhing of languages, gave them occaſion to make ample diſcoveries into the nature, habitudes, and concatenations of things, to which their excogitated ſounds and new-formed words were, in a regular ſtructure of ſpeech, to have an agreeable reference and proportion.

SECONDLY, Their profound elaborate diſquiſitions into the grounds and reaſons of laws and governments, which they were then every where forming, gave them occaſionally conſiderable inſight into the manners, inclinations, and tempers of men, and into the natures and differences of human paſſions.

THIRDLY, Their ſerious warmth and concern for the affairs of religion prompted and raiſed their thoughts to more divine contemplations, gave them proſpects of a future being, and at length put them upon many clear and diſtinct ideas of divine and ſupernatural objects. And as theſe three particulars, namely, Language, Laws, and Religion, have been the earlieſt and moſt applied to, as being of the moſt important conſideration to mankind; ſo they have, among other advantages to the happineſs of people, been the freſheſt and earlieſt

grounds

grounds that gave growth and improvement to natural, moral, and metaphyſical ſciences.

Thus the growing race of mankind having no ſooner ſate themſelves down in diſtinct ſettled nations—which Strabo, out of Ephorus, branches at firſt into theſe four, viz. Scythæ, Indi, Æthiopes, and Celtæ—but a ſet of men in each of theſe diviſions, we may well imagine, put their heads to work, and began to cheriſh the ſeeds of knowledge; partly natural and latent in them, and partly acquired by oral traduction from the patriarchal *Cabala*; in the latter of which the antediluvian knowledge in all its branches was carefully preſerved, and eminently flouriſhed.

Theſe men of thought and ſpeculation, whoſe chief province was to enlarge the bounds of knowledge, as their fellows were to do thoſe of empire, into what country or climate ſoever they came; as they were generally curious themſelves in impoſing names agreeable to the natures and properties of things and actions, ſo they themſelves likewiſe came to be named and diſtinguiſhed by others by appellations peculiarly agreeable to, and ſignificative of, ſome moſt noted and remarkable circumſtance of their public tranſactions and appearance.

On this account, I take it, the Indians called their great promoters of civility and humanity *Brachmans*, probably from a primitive word they might carry with them, *Barach*, to praiſe and celebrate. And no doubt the Æthiopians and Scythians gave to theirs alſo ſuitable appellatives at that time, though now forgotten. And thus it was that we the Celtæ came to call our firſt maſters of knowledge Druids, from the Celtic word *Derw* *, as it is generally thought; and that becauſe theſe men ſeemed paſſionately fond of that tree, under which it is certain they frequently appeared in every ſolemn and public tranſaction.

It is indeed acknowledged on all hands, that the ancient druids had their name from *Derw*, whether from the Greek or Celtic, which differ not much in ſound, is not material to enquire. But that their cuſtom of celebrating the oak and uſing formed groves for their public miniſtrations and ſolemn performances, proceeded from the example and imitation of Abraham, doing the like under the oaks of Mamre, Gen. xviii. 1. though it be the general opinion, yet I ſhall take the liberty to differ from it, and to ſuppoſe farther, that both Abraham and they took up

* Oak.

this

this cuſtom from a more ancient pattern, viz. the antediluvian practice. I have already hinted how the ancient heathens did many things relating to religion, according to, and agreeing with, the recorded cuſtoms of the primitive Jews; not that they took them up from thoſe Jews by way of example and imitation, but as they both, as well thoſe Jews as the ancient Gentiles, followed a more ancient copy, the *Mitzoth*, or ſacred patriarchal rubric.

It is known that a tree was of very ſacred uſe in Paradiſe. It was a tree, *Gopher*, which God peculiarly deſigned for the building of the ark. And on a tree the ſalvation of the world was to be accompliſhed. A tree therefore being thus celebrated by Almighty Providence, we may ceaſe to admire that devout antiquity placed ſo much ſacredneſs on it, as to make groves their firſt and moſt ancient temples and places of divine worſhip. And ſince it is uncertain of what ſpecies that tree was, which was ſo remarkably diſtinguiſhed by Providence, we may as well take here the word of antiquity, and ſuppoſe that they pitched on the oak, paid their greateſt veneration to it, and ſome of them, if the common ſentiments be right, took their name and character from it, upon very prevailing reaſons, now unknown to us.

The truth of all this is very apparent both in divine and human records, that the oak of all the trees in the world hath been of moſt ſpecial regard and veneration with devout antiquity in their ſacred religious performances. Of which, to clear the way to the unfolding the grounds and reaſons of the ancient druidical inſtitution among us, I ſhall proceed on with the following inſtances.

FIRST, The ſacred Scriptures aſſure us, that the firſt temples or local conſecrations were groves of oak, under which God himſelf appeared, angels were entertained, covenants were formed, oblations and ſacrifices offered. And whatever elſe belonged to the dignity of God's houſe, and to the ſacredneſs of divine worſhip, under the patriarchal œconomy, were viſible in groves and oak-holts. "And Abram (ſays Moſes) paſſed through the land to the place of Sichem," עד אלון מורה *ad allon Moreh*, to the oaks or oak-grove of Moreh, "where the Lord appeared unto him, and ſaid, Unto thy ſeed will I give this land. And Abram builded there an altar unto the Lord." Gen. xii. 6.

Alſo we read, that "All the men of Sichem gathered together, and all the men of Millo, and went and made Abimelech king, by the *oak* of the pillar." Judges ix. 6. Nay, in that very place, and of that very pillar, the author of the book of Joſhua ſays, that "Joſhua took a great

great ſtone, and ſet it up there," that is, in Sichem under the oak, which was to be taken for the ſanctuary of the Lord. Joſhua xxiv. 26. On theſe luculent teſtimonies of divine Scriptures the learned Dickinſon breaks out,

——*En primos ſacerdotes quernos! en patriarchas druidas!*
Diatr. de Orig. Druid.

SECONDLY, That the heathens practiſed the ſame, in whoſe moſt celebrated authors we find *ſacra Jovi quercus,* is evident beyond diſpute. Nay, they were not only the Britiſh and Gauliſh Druids who admired and venerated that prince of trees; but the heathens about Syria and Paleſtine retained alſo the ſame fondneſs to it. For when the apoſtatizing Jews forſook the law of their God Jehovah, and abandoned themſelves to the idolatrous practices of their heatheniſh neighbours, what did they do? "They ſacrificed (ſays the ſacred text) upon the tops of mountains, and burnt incenſe upon hills, under oaks, and poplars, and elms." Hoſea iv. 13. "Under every thick oak they did offer ſweet ſacrifice to all their idols." Ezek. vi. 13.

To reduce what has been ſaid to the place and ſubject of my enquiry, I ſhall affirm from the foregoing evidence, that this prime celebration of oak-groves already mentioned, being of patriarchal, if not of divine inſtitution; and our weſtern Celtæ being ſo reſolutely tenacious of it, and ſo zealouſly devoted to it, that their *Coryphæi*—their firſt and chiefeſt maſters of knowledge, the Druids—took their diſtinction and character from it: The caſe I ſay being ſo, we may well conceive that theſe venerable religioniſts of the age (religion in its general idea being the chief concernment of mankind, and knowledge its rule and direction; to both which theſe religious Druids eminently laid claim and title) had charms enough in their ſkill and knowledge, in their addreſs and converſation, to obtain to themſelves the chief poſts of management wherever they reſided; and when obtained, to ſecure their credit and reputation; and thereupon to bear up a port and authority (no hard thing for them to do in that eaſy obſequious age) in order to maintain the chief ſtroke in the conduct of all public and private affairs among their fellow-citizens, wherever they happened to fix and ſettle.

Upon this bottom theſe inſinuating prieſts, we may well imagine, ſoon wound up themſelves to ſuch a reputation and power as to be able to preſcribe and give laws to others; and when they arrived to this

eminence, their next ſtep was to provide for and eſtabliſh themſelves. And eaſily perceiving that the propagation of knowledge was beſt upheld and continued (they being no men of letters) by fixed and ſettled foundations and ſocieties, they looked about, we may ſuppoſe, for the moſt commodious place to eſtabliſh their model; and might quickly find and obſerve the Iſle of Mona to ſurpaſs all other places in the Britiſh territories in thoſe advantages they ſought for. And when they found it out, their authority might ſoon prevail to get themſelves poſſeſſed of it, and eſtabliſhed in it.

The advantages they might chiefly ſeek for were to be of theſe two ſorts: Firſt, natural, ſuch as were moſt agreeable and ſerviceable to the *deſigns*; and, ſecondly, political, ſuch as beſt ſecured the *ends* of their intended eſtabliſhment. And all theſe preſented themſelves eminently conſpicuous in this corner of the land, the Iſle of Mona, now called Angleſey.

FIRST, Its natural appearance and proſpect might well enough endear to them the choice of it for their ſeat and habitation. It was an iſland, and therefore fitteſt of any place (as being more ſolitary and leſs incommoded with the affrightments of war and tumults) to give firſt ſuck to the infant muſes; and to afford the earlieſt ſtrokes and lineaments to the growth of knowledge. It was a pleaſant iſland; and every thing, as the quality of the ſoil and temperature of its air incline us to ſuppoſe, was in the flower and vigor of nature. It breathed a chearful quickening air. It was a more plain and level country than any of its neighbouring regions, and yet variegated into a pleaſing diverſity of hills and vallies. It was plentifully purled with ſprings, and ſprinkled with rivulets. It had a benign enlivening ſun, a pregnant fruitful ſoil; enriched on all ſides with the bounties of the ſea; and adorned with the wealth and beauties of the land. And above all (as the nature of the ſoil makes us believe alſo) they found it ſtored with many ſpacious groves of their admired and beloved oak. In ſhort, whatever contributed to maintain the body in a ſound athletic ſtate; to enliven the ſoul in her briſkeſt operations; or to inform her with variety of objects, was not wanting here. Nature having made (it ſeems) this little place the model, as it were, of the great iſle of Britain. Whatever ſhe has delineated there in greater draughts, her pencil has epitomized, has contracted here *in parvo*. There is nothing hardly in the work of nature to be found in the great iſle of Britain, but may be ſampled, as near as nature can admit, with ſomething

thing of the kind, even in her greateſt ſcope of varieties, within the Iſle of Mona.

SECONDLY, A political conſideration likewiſe of the advantages of its ſite and poſition, we may well ſuppoſe, did no leſs oblige theſe men of thought and retirement, and in a manner force them to that choice, than thoſe laſt-mentioned beauties of nature might allure them to it. The advantages were theſe:

Firſt, it was an iſland defended by the ſea on every ſide, and therefore beſt fortified and ſecured againſt the alarms and occurſions of prevailing aggreſſors, at that time frequent in inland countries: Thoſe paſſions as yet crawling on land, having not then learned to ſwim on the ſeas. And though it was divided from the continent by an arm of the ſea, able to ſafeguard them from all approaches of danger; yet they were near enough to it to receive their friends, or communicate with them any hour in the year.

Secondly, it was of a juſt proportion and latitude within itſelf, ſuitable to the ends intended, that is, ſolitude and ſafety. It was not too big and of too large an extent, where it might nouriſh parties and factions, which might endanger its repoſe and tranquillity. It was not too ſmall and ſcanty, to enfeeble and ſtarve itſelf; but was, as I ſaid, of a juſt bigneſs and proportion, to ſupport and maintain itſelf in plight and vigour, in ſafety and ſecurity from all accidents, and particularly fitted to have its rule and government moulded to a ſort of monaſtic œconomy, which theſe druids were now introducing. Theſe ſpecious advantages both of quality and ſituation, ſo fortunately conſociating and ſorting with the deſigns and genius of theſe men, might probably, by the eulogies abroad of it, give the firſt hints to antiquity of bolting their hyperboles of Elyſian Fields and Fortunate Iſlands.

Having ſet down the grounds and reaſons of the origin and inſtitution of theſe heatheniſh prieſts, and of their eſtabliſhment in the Iſle of Mona, before I proceed to account for their philoſophy and diſcipline, and other particulars of their eſtabliſhments, there is one objection which I am obliged to remove. It is this.

Although the hypotheſis of the original of druidiſm, and of their choice of the Iſle of Mona for their principal ſeat and habitation, as here aſſerted, may be granted to be coherent and rational; yet as to reality of exiſtence and truth of fact, the whole may be a *nunquam conſtans*, a mere chimera—unleſs proper proofs can be produced to evince

the hiſtorical certainty of it, at leaſt of the latter part of it; that is, of their fixing and eſtabliſhing themſelves in this iſland; which is all that is requiſite in this matter. That point, therefore, I ſhall endeavour to prove by theſe evidences; Firſt, by ancient uncontradicted traditions; Secondly, by the teſtimony of unexceptionable authors; and, Thirdly, by certain marks and footſteps of antiquity to this day extant in many places. Theſe three ſorts of evidence concurring together, and being fairly eſtabliſhed, encourage me to hope that I ſhall take away the force of this objection with unprejudiced men; whom I deſire to take it *here* for granted, that there were ſuch perſons, and that they choſe (on what grounds and motives it is no great matter) their chief ſeat and reſidence in this Iſle of Mona or Angleſey.

Referring therefore our aſſurance of the thing to what will in the next ſection appear on the proofs of fact and evidence, I may here with better warrant proceed to ſome other circumſtantial conſiderations of the point in hand. And, Firſt, I ſhall give ſome previous hints of theſe religious perſons' firſt ſteps in the progreſs of their improvements in the way of knowledge; and then proceed, Secondly, to obſerve and account for their philoſophy and diſcipline; Thirdly, for their diſtinct orders and ſocieties; Fourthly, for their authority and power; and, Fifthly, for their ſacred things and places. In ſome of which particulars, namely, in their philoſophy and morality, we may obſerve theſe religious Druids to have ſignalized themſelves, in that great and ſolemn work of raiſing and improving the faculties of mankind, and of advancing and ſuiting to proper ends all the parts of true, ſolid, and inſtructive knowledge, in theſe weſtern parts of Europe; not only before others, but alſo above and beyond the then ordinary means and meaſures. And here let no one deſpiſe, and think the accounting for the affairs and tranſactions of theſe men, to be vain and frivolous, who have in their time deſerved ſo well of the world, and whoſe characters and actions were eſteemed worthy to be recorded and tranſmitted to our hands, even by the greateſt of ancient authors.

First, therefore, we are to conceive, according to the hypotheſis already laid down, that the firſt ſtep in the improvement of human faculties, and the application of them, in the way of knowledge and practice, to uſeful and inſtructive ends and purpoſes, was in this weſtern part of the world begun and ſet on by a few thoughtful perſons here and there; who afterwards, conſociating and aſſembling together, proceeded to ſettle principles, and to form their little platforms and inſtitutions, in a

verbal

verbal diſcurſive way; to which they ever after cleaved, neglecting the uſe of *letters*, as an innovation inconſiſtent with their more ancient eſtabliſhments. And this may be one argument of the ſeniority of this learned ſect to all thoſe other people, who have ſet up by the help of letters; beyond which, excepting the ancient Druids, I think there are few pretenders.

Although they made no uſe of books, yet by what we read of them, we find that their ſchemes extended to all the uſeful parts of learning; which they couched under apt ſignificant words, and depoſited in rhythmical compoſitions with a peculiar claſs of their ſociety, whom they call *Beirdd* (from the original word * *Pared*, to divide and diſtinguiſh) that is, men ſeparated and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, for their extraordinary talent of memory, to that peculiar work—† *Cóf-weithie* or *Cóf-wydde*—of recording and reciting on occaſions the various theorems and explications of their whole ſyſtem of knowledge.

Plurima ſecuri fudiſtis carmina bardi. Lucan. Pharſal. lib. i. 449.

Secondly, The delivered and taught philoſophy and learning of this druidical ſect ſeemed, in the general air of it, to be moſtly ſymbolical and enigmatical, eſpecially the moral part of it; agreeing in that with the traditional Cabala of the Jews. In imitation of which the moſt ancient things among the heathen philoſophers have been ſhrouded in veils and obſcurities. Καὶ φασί τὰς Δρυίδας αἰνιγμαῶδ ὡς ἀποφθεγγομένους φιλοσοφήσαι, ſays Diogenes Laertius of theſe Druids, "They affirm that they taught obſcurely and enigmatically their points of philoſophy." From hence it is likely other ſects and parties, as Clemens Alexandrinus (Strom. 5) obſerves, uſually couched the graveſt parts of their learning ἐν συμβόλοις, under theſe involutions and ſhadows: which Pythagoras afterwards advanced to the higheſt improvement that way; from whom the imitating Greeks took it into vogue, and amuſed the world with their mythologies and riddles.

But in particular, as to the parts and diviſions of that philoſophy, it was, as others generally are, either an expoſition or a regulation of nature; that is, it was chiefly aimed and directed either to the unfolding the abſtruſities of her phœnomena, or to the regulating the obliquities and diſorders of her operations. The firſt being ſpeculative, and

* *Pared*, a Wall or Separation, we retain ſtill in our tongue. † *Coſwaith* or *Cowydd*.

properly

properly philoſophy; the other practical, and properly diſcipline. Of which in their order.

First, Of their philoſophy properly ſo called. They ſeemed, if we credit antiquity, to have taken a full draught of the theory of nature, according to the gauge of that time. They made quick reſearches into her principles and operations. *Eos præter naturalem etiam moralem exercuiſſe philoſophiam*, ſays Strabo; "Beſides the natural, as if that had been their chief province, they profeſſed alſo moral philoſophy."

But in the management of the natural, whether the principles on which they generally explicated things were corpuſcularian, or complex and elemental, I cannot determine; but am inclined to believe them to have been the former, as more agreeable to the Sidonian philoſophy, which was plainly atomical; and with which our celebrated Druids, on account of our moſt ancient commerce and traffic with the Phœnicians, muſt have had no ſmall acquaintance and communication.

They deeply conſidered nature, in her largeſt extent, in her ſyſtems, in her motions, in her magnitudes and powers. In all which they ſeemed to cabalize; for Cæſar, who beſt knew them, gives us this account of them—*Multa præterea de ſideribus atque eorum motu, de mundi ac terrarum magnitudine, de rerum naturâ diſputant.* "They diſpute much of the ſtars and their motions, of the magnitude of the world, and of the parts thereof, and of the nature of things." *De Bell. Gall.* lib. vi. ſect. 13. To the ſame purpoſe Pomponius Mela, lib. iii. cap. 2. ſpeaks of their acute diſcourſes of the ſyſtem of the world, and of their deep inſight into natural cauſes; to which he adds geography, as Pliny, lib. iii. cap. 1. does magic and medicine. All which were acquiſitions very neceſſary to uphold the dignity and power which theſe Druids had obtained over the people through a great part of Europe.

Now their phiſiology being ſo comprehenſive as to take in, with the theory of nature, aſtronomy, geometry, medicine, and natural magic; and all this upon the corpuſcularian hypotheſis, as it may ſeem very probable from their ancient frequent commerce, by means of the Tyrian and Sidonian traders, with the Phœnician philoſophy—particularly with the placits of Mochus the Sidonian, whom our learned Selden takes to be Moſes. I ſay, beſides theſe noble parts of natural knowledge, their metaphyſics likewiſe made ſtrong flights, partly on the ſtrength of their own ratiocination, as in the unity of the deity, the immortality of the ſoul of man, and other conſequent dog-

mata; and partly alſo from Cabaliſtic traditions, as in that of the conflagration of the world, the pre-exiſtence of ſouls, and tranſmigration of them from one vehicle to another, the propitiation of ſacrifices, and many more particulars of that ſort, which they ſtrongly profeſſed and taught; though indeed as to that one, of the unity of the godhead, the ſtream of idolatry towards the latter end of their time bore ſtrong upon them, and deflected them from their profeſſed Monotheiſm, to give divine worſhip to Medioxumate gods: to *Taranis*, or Jupiter; *Heſus*, or Mars; *Belus*, *Belatucadrus*, i. e. *Bel-y duw Cadarn*; *Teutates*; *Belin*, i. e. *Ap heulin*, or Apollo; Diana, and *Andraſtes*, or *Victoria*, i. e. *Duwies yr Anrhaith*; and ſome ſay that Mercury, who likely was this *Teutates* or *Duw-taith*, the great conductor of travels and expeditions, was of chief reſpect among them. But theſe errors crept late among them, or they worſhipped the one God under theſe ſeveral titles and appellations.

That theſe eminent parts of philoſophy, both natural and metaphyſical, acquired, as I ſaid, by the early acquaintance they had with the Phœnician learning, flouriſhed for ſome time among our ancient Druids, we may well take for granted on the word of thoſe excellent authors I have now mentioned. But of what ſort their notions and explications of things were, though among us all remains and footſteps of them are quite loſt and periſhed, yet we have much to gueſs; and it ſhould ſeem that they were the ſame or very near a-kin with what Pythagoras Samius ſometime after, about the ſixtieth Olympiad, fetched alſo from the diſciples of the ſaid Mochus (as Jamblichus affirms in the life of Pythagoras) and left recorded in his Italic ſchool; or at leaſt the ſaid Pythagoras might well have borrowed the chief points of his philoſophy from his nearer neighbours, the Gauliſh Druids, who had had them before from Phœnicia, and conveyed them that way to Italy. And what it was that made up the greateſt part of the philoſophy of Pythagoras, beſides what we have recorded and preſerved to us by his own ſcholars, Democritus and Leucippus of old, Galileo and Gaſſendus of late, have ſufficiently taught us.

SECONDLY, As to the diſcipline of theſe Druids, or that practical part of their philoſophy which referred to and concerned either their own eſtabliſhment and ſociety, or the people over whom they preſided and governed; I find it chiefly conſiſted of, and exerted itſelf in, theſe three particulars: Firſt, in the conduct and management of themſelves; Secondly, in acts of public deciſions and judicature; and,

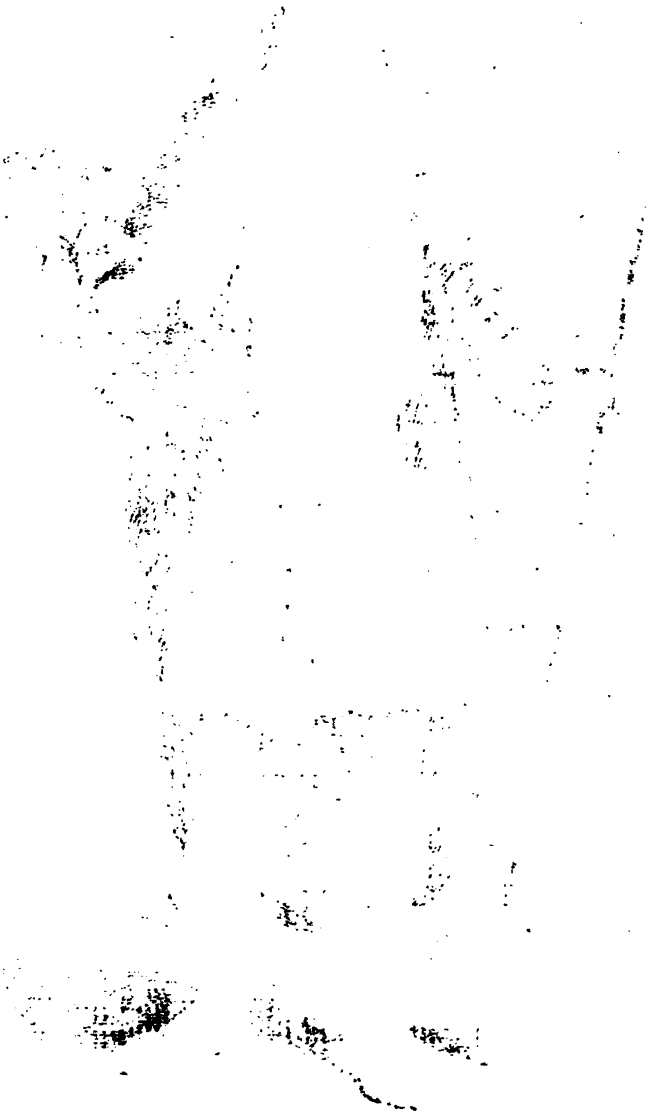
Thirdly,

Thirdly, in the ſolemn rites and performances of religion. Which brings me to the third obſervation propoſed, that is, their orders and ſocieties.

FIRST, then, as to the regulation of themſelves, and the prime eſtabliſhment of their ſocieties and orders; their politics ſeem to have been very cautious and extremely provident in the uniform plot and model of their conſtitution. They ſubmitted themſelves to one, whom they were implicitly to obey, and to be ſolely guided by, in the weightieſt conduct of affairs. And then they divided their whole body into diſtinct claſſes and fraternities, ſuited and proportioned to the ſeveral parts and employments of their function and office. And in matter of œconomy and claſſical regiment, they were ſorted in an agreeable ſubordination and dependance of one order and ſociety upon another, and of all upon one chief or metropolitan, if I may ſo call him.

This chief or head Druid had a ſupreme metropolitical power, not only over their own collegiate ſocieties, but alſo over the ſeparate communities and governments of people through the whole nation, as Cæſar expreſly affirms: *His omnibus* præeſt unus, *qui ſummam inter eos habet auctoritatem.* "Over all theſe," meaning the whole order of them, "there is one ſupreme head and governor, to whoſe juriſdiction and authority they were to pay obedience and ſubmiſſion, in all matters relating to their cognizance," *&c.* And that all people did yearly bring their appeals from all places of the land to his tribunal or court of audience in Gallia, as their *dernier reſort*, their laſt plea of juſtice, Cæſar is expreſs: *Conſidunt certo anni tempore in loco conſecrato. Huc omnes undique, qui controverſias habent, conveniunt; eorumque judiciis decretiſque parent.* i. e. "Theſe high pontiffs with their aſſeſſors, the heads and preſidents probably of their inferior orders, met yearly in a certain conſecrated place; at whoſe tribunal all that have any private ſuits or controverſies make their laſt appeals, and ſtand for ever obliged to ſubmit to their decrees and ſentence."

This indeed Cæſar ſpeaks of, as it was practiſed in Gallia in his time; but withal he ſays before, that their diſcipline, of which this practice was a main part, came into Gallia from Britain. And ſince he affirms it came from Britain, we may very well conclude, that the ſame courſe and method as was uſed in Gallia was alſo practiſed in the Britiſh iſle; and that the place of their ſupreme judicature (as I ſhall in the next ſection endeavour to make appear) was in this Iſle of Mona or Angleſey.



I. Taylor sculp.

The Chief Druid.

UNIV. OF MICH.

That head Druid, for the eminency of his place and the ſingularity of his office, was called *Drew*, that is, The Druid. He was, when dead, preſently ſucceeded by another; who mounted into that dignity, either by his ſingular virtue and merit, or, if on account of equality a competition aroſe, by the ſuffrage and election of the inferior orders. *Hoc mortuo*, ſays Cæſar, meaning the chief Druid, *ſiquis ex reliquis excellit dignitate, ſuccedit; at ſi ſunt plures pares, ſuffragio druidum adlegitur.* i. e. "When the præſulary dignity becomes vacant by the head Druid's death, the next in dignity and reputation ſucceeds; but when there are equals in competition, election carries it." In theſe elections ſometimes ſuch heats and broils, and intereſt of parties, raged among them, that wars and bloodſhed have often concluded the conteſt.

The inferior orders were, as before is intimated, diſtinguiſhed among themſelves into different claſſes and fraternities; which, as Strabo reckons *, were three; that is, Δρυίδαι, *Drudau* or *Drudion*; Οὐάτεις, *Offwyr* or *Offyddion*; and Βαρδοὶ, *Beirdd*. Ammianus Marcellinus gives the ſame reckoning †. *Per hæc loca hominibus paullatim excultis, viguere ſtudia laudibilium doctrinarum, inchoata per Bardos, & Euhages, & Druidas.* i. e. "In theſe places, among the rude unpoliſhed people grew up the knowledge of arts and ſciences, begun and ſet up by Bards, Euvates, and Druids." Then he proceeds to account for theſe three orders, as Strabo had done before him.

Diodorus Siculus and Cicero mention another order of them, called Sarronides. But Bochart and other critics have already cleared that point, by ſhewing that Druids and Sarronides, being Greek *ſynonima*, were taken by antiquity to expreſs one and the ſame thing. Of theſe, ſays Strabo, the *Bardi* were ſingers; the *Ouvates*, prieſts and phyſiologers; and the *Druids*, to phyſiology added ethics and moral learning. And Ammianus Marcellinus gives much the ſame character of them ‡. *Bardi quidem fortia virorum illuſtrium facta, heroicis compoſita verſibus, cum dulcibus lyræ modulis cantitârunt; Euhages vero ſcrutantes ſeriem, & ſublimia naturæ pandere conabantur. Inter hos Druidæ ingeniis celſiores, ut authoritas Pythagoræ decrevit, ſodaliciis aſtricti conſortiis, queſtionibus occultarum rerum altarumque erecti ſunt, & deſpectantes humana pronunciârunt animas immortales.* That is, "The Bards ſung in well-made compoſitions, on their harps, the heroic acts of men; the Euvates or

* Geogr. lib. iv. † Lib. xv. ‡ Loc. citato.

Eubates, more deeply conſidering nature, made attempts to diſcover her higheſt arcana, and moſt ſecret workings: And among theſe the Druids, men of more poliſhed parts, by the rules of Pythagoras, affecting formed ſocieties, gave themſelves wholly to the contemplation of divine and hidden things, and deſpiſing all worldly enjoyments, confidently affirmed the ſouls of men to be immortal." In ſhort, by all theſe evidences we may collect, and warrantably ſay, that their Bards were their ſingers and recorders of things; for in ſongs and metrical compoſitions they treaſured up all their knowledge of things and perſons; that the Euvates were their prieſts and phyſiologers; and that the Druids were their moſt profound theologers and interpreters of their laws, and judges in all capital matters. On which account the Druids being more taken notice of by ſtrangers, and being perhaps men of more general converſe and negociation towards their latter days than the other orders, all the orders of them came to be generally called by the name of Druids.

SECONDLY, Their practical learning in reference to others conſiſted chiefly in acts of judicature and public deciſions; towards which they ſeem to have been well ſtudied in the rules and proportions of juſtice and equity, and ſufficiently informed of the nature of right and wrong. Hereby the Druids, their civilians and caſuiſts, maintained great ſway, and commanded infinite reſpect and obſervance in every province they came into; and wherein they had their ſeparate precincts and allotments, with peculiar powers and juriſdictions to exerciſe the authority of their function.

The extent of their authority and juriſdiction, as to exerciſe and adminiſtration, inaſmuch as it reached to all places of the nation; ſo as to cognizance and power, it took up almoſt every caſe and circumſtance whether civil or criminal. *Nam ferè de omnibus controverſiis*, ſays their great conqueror *, *publicis privatiſque, conſtituunt: & ſiquod eſt admiſſum facinus; ſi cædes facta; ſi de hæreditate, ſi de finibus controverſia eſt, iidem decernunt. Præmia pœnaſque conſtituunt.* i. e. "They determine in almoſt all controverſies, both public and private; and if any great crime be perpetrated, if any murder or manſlaughter be committed, if any quarrels ariſe about bounds of land and inheritances, theſe Druids give judgment in the matter, and decree rewards and puniſhments, as the caſe deſerves."

* Cæſar de Bell. Gall. lib. vi. ubi ſupra.

Now

Now though this decretorial power extended even to life and death, yet the execution of it (they being a ſort of eccleſiaſtics) was, for all I can find, wholly transferred to the ſecular power of the city or province they belonged to. The ſame likewiſe I conceive of their decreeing rewards and puniſhments being merely declarative, pronouncing juridically who were fit, how far, and perhaps in what manner, to be rewarded or puniſhed. Yet one thing there was that ſtruck a general terror, with which they might awe and over-rule their laics to almoſt any thing they pleaſed; and that was what theſe Druids took the greateſt care and pains to inculcate on the people, viz. the peoples' indiſpenſable obligation to the neceſſary rites and duties of oblations and ſacrifice, together with their own indiſputable power of deſigning and appointing what perſons or things they pleaſed for the cruel victims and immolations of their altars—making them believe, as Cæſar ſays *, *Quòd pro vitâ hominis, niſi vita hominis redditur, non poſſe deorum immortalium numen placari.* i. e. "That for the life of a man, nothing but the death of another man, offered a ſacrifice on their altars, could appeaſe the wrathful immortal gods, and make due atonement for the evil committed, or the puniſhment threatened."

This, indeed, was their great engine to put the abuſed people into what poſture they pleaſed; and was the chief prop of their authority, which it ſeems they kept up here to the very laſt. And on which depended their other machine of terror among the inferior laity, which was their anathemas and excommunications. With this they quickly diſſipated all contempts and diſobediences. And in that opinion, which they had induſtriouſly cultivated in the vulgar, of their indiſpenſable neceſſity of ſacrificing and of frequently attending the ſolemnities of their altars, there was no greater and more dreadful ſtroke, except death itſelf, that could be inflicted on a poor mortal, than to be interdicted and excommunicated from the rights and privileges of ſacrifice.

And as the firſt, viz. the general awe which they carried over all ſorts of perſons, from their being able to appoint and order whom they would to the ſlaughter, gave them the great authority of commanding; ſo this latter, viz. the power of interdicting and excommunicating, ſecured them the ſpeedy and effectual execution of whatever they commanded. *Siquis aut publicus aut privatus,* ſays Cæſar, *eorum decreto*

* Loc. citato.

non ſteterit ſacrificiis interdicunt; hæc pœna apud eos græviſſima; quibus ità interdictum eſt, ii numero impiorum ac ſceleratorum habentur; ab iis omnes decedunt, aditum eorum ſermonemque defugiunt. " This is their greateſt puniſhment upon thoſe who refuſe to ſubmit to the Druids decrees and ſentence, to debar them the uſe and ſolemnities of ſacrifice. And thoſe who are ſo interdicted are accounted the moſt wicked and profligate of all people, to be ſhunned and eſchewed by all honeſt men." Nay, to ſhew the farther congruity of this ſcheme with future methods, or what came to be afterward practiſed in the true Chriſtian hierarchy—*Neque eis petentibus jus redditur, neque honos ullus communicatur,* ſays Cæſar of them who were excluded and anathematized for their contempt and delinquency, and debarred the common rights and privileges of religion. They were not only vile and abominable in the account of all men, but alſo, while they continued interdicted, were as out-lawed wretches, excluded and rendered incapable of all benefit of law; no place of truſt or honour was ever to be conferred upon them. Thus we may obſerve the guilt of contempt and diſobedience to juſt authority. As it was in all the diſpenſations of the true religion, ſo in the eye of nature itſelf it has ever been reckoned the fouleſt and moſt unaſſociable crime, and conſequently branded with the moſt odious marks of both divine and human indignation.

THIRDLY, Of the Druids diſcipline, in relation to acts and exerciſes of religion, I ſhall only touch, as I did in the reſt, on what is moſt obvious and remarkable. That they had times and places ſacred and ſeparated to holy uſes, it is natural to think: but what preciſe determined portions of time thoſe were, no author mentions. It is probable they had * one day in ſeven, as the generality of mankind had, appointed and ſet apart for divine worſhip; and that that was, as in moſt other nations, the day of the ſun, it is as probable. What other feſtivals or anniverſary ſolemnities they had, we know not. Yet it is not unlikely, but that they had ſet times and peculiar celebrations of their deified heroes.

As for their ſet and appropriated places, we are ſufficiently told that they were groves of oak. *Jam per ſe roborum eligunt lucos; neque ulla ſacra ſine eâ fronde conficiunt,* ſays Pliny † of theſe Druids; i. e. " They dreſs and cultivate groves of oak; for without that tree, or thoſe groves,

* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 3. where he vouches the authorities of Heſiod, Homer, Callimachus, and others, for the ſacred obſervation of the ſeventh day, as a general practice.

† Hiſt. Nat. lib. xvi. cap. 44, ſub fin.

they

they never celebrate any part of their ſacred functions." They placed a very high myſtery in the miſſeltoe of that tree, the *Pren-Awyr* as they call it ſtill in ſome parts of Wales; which they ever cut down in great ſolemnity with a conſecrated golden inſtrument; received it on their *ſagum* or white garment, and preſerved it as Jove's greateſt gift, with the higheſt veneration and worſhip.

Ad viſcum druidæ, druidæ cantare ſolebant.

They had theſe groves, one may conjecture, in many places of the country; which they called *Llwyn*, probably enough from the original word *Allun*. Thence I take it that *Llan* had its denomination, which Chriſtianity retained, and the Chriſtians applied to their own conſecrated places and public oratories. Theſe groves were great ſepts and encloſements of tall and ſpreading oak, ever ſurrounding their moſt ſacred places. And from that ancient notion of *Llan* or *Llwyn*, as betokening a fence and encloſure, I take the compound words, *Per-llan*, *Gwin-llan*, *Yd-lan*, *Cor-lan*, and *Glyn* or *Glan*, a valley encloſed with wood, to have been originally denominated.

In theſe groves they had their ſacred erections and apartments; that is, either their mounts and hillocks, which they called *Gorſeddaû*, from their *ſitting aloft* upon them when they pronounced their decrees and ſentences, and made their ſolemn orations to the people. *Multa de deorum immortalium vi ac poteſtate diſputant, & juventuti tradunt*, ſays Cæſar of them. i. e. "They diſcourſe much of the power and perfections of the immortal gods, which they preach to the younger people." Or they had in theſe groves their erected pillars and idols, to which ſome think they attributed divine honours, as the memorials of their deified heroes. Or they had in them their heaps or *Carnedde*, on which they had a peculiar mode of worſhip by throwing and heaping of ſtones. Or they had their altars or *Cromleche*, on which they performed the ſolemnities of ſacrifice, and their ſacred rites of aruſpicy and divination. Or, laſtly, in ſome larger and more eminent groves they had many of theſe together, as pillars and heaps of ſtones were commonly within one grove and encloſement; for to this day they ſtand ſo cloſe together in many places, that I cannot ſuppoſe them to have had different encloſements. And in one remarkable place, where I preſume one of theſe great groves to have been, there are the remains of all theſe, except a *Cromleche*, together on one ſmall ſpot of ground; where in all probability they were comprehended within the verge of one great grove, which I

ſhall

ſhall mention in its proper place; the marks of thoſe erections being ſtill extant there, though the trees encloſing them have been gone away theſe many ages.

Now granting theſe mounts, pillars, heaps, and altars to have been ſo engroved about and ſhaded as I have conjectured, the particular uſes of them, for all that, muſt be very difficult to determine. Yet that all theſe, whoſe remains are to this day among us, are monuments of Druidiſm, peculiarly adapted to the particular rites and ceremonies of their religion and worſhip, will I think by very few be denied. For certainly ſome things theſe celebrated religioniſts had of a ſtanding compoſure and erection for the miniſtration of their function and ſervice of their religion; and what they were I would fain be informed, if they were not theſe. Altars we are ſure they had; and conſidering the unbounded zeal and fervency which people generally had to immolations and ſacrifices, theſe altars muſt be alſo very numerous. And therefore one may be inclined to believe, that beſides the *Cromleche*, theſe heaps and columns muſt have had alſo their groves about them: for without theſe there were no ſacred ceremonies, as Pliny aſſures us. And ſo we may ſuppoſe that theſe groves wanted not their *aræ* or ſmaller altars, to which people reſorted with their trivial oblations. However that was, it is certain that ſome flattiſh ſtones like altars are uſually found lying not far from theſe heaps and columns.

Thus I conceive this ancient famous ſect of philoſophers, politicians, and divines, came to fix their metropolitical ſeat and chief ſeminary in the Iſle of Mona; and from thence to plant and eſtabliſh their hierarchy through the whole Britiſh nation. Theſe men having formed and perfected their ſyſtem, partly on their own ſtock of knowledge originally conveyed here with the firſt planters, and partly, as I ſaid before, by their early intercourſe with the people of the Eaſt, continued ſole maſters of the iſle of Mona, and of her ſiſter the iſle of Man; both which, as is very probable, they held in demeſne, and governed by a ſort of monaſtic polity, till they came to be diſſeiſed of them and outed by the conquering Romans.

In all that long ſpace of time, from their firſt eſtabliſhment to their expulſion, we may reaſonably imagine, theſe learned perſons maintained their authority at home and their reputation abroad in conſiderable luſtre and eminence; every community and government of the whole nation being, it ſeems, conſtantly ſupplied, for their information of knowledge, and their neceſſary miniſtration of laws and religion, with a new ſet of

theſe Druids, from this pregnant nurſery the Iſle of Mona, as their old ones died. Which indeed might quickly give her the appellation of a Mother; as we ſee now Canterbury has in reſpect of her ſuffragan dioceſes, and other places have in regard to their reſpective ſons and votaries. She was therefore very anciently called *Môn Mam Gymru*, * *Cwmbre*, i. e. *Regio Vallicoſa*; or *Cyn-bre*, i. e. *Regio Primaria*, being a word then of larger extent than it is now; though in after ages I confeſs, as Giraldus Cambrenſis obſerves, this iſland came to enjoy that title, and well deſerve it, from the great proviſion of corn it yielded, and the plenty of other things it afforded.

Now under theſe extraordinary advantages of foreign correſpondencies and domeſtic encouragements, no wonder if this wary ſect grew up to that great reſpect and reputation in the opinion of all their neighbours, (nor, by the way, were the fortunate arms of the valiant Brennus any of the leaſt helps to enlarge their fame) that many of thoſe foreign neighbours ſeem to have taken ſome of their ſchemes and modes of worſhip from theſe Druids; as may be ſomewhat perceived in the accounts which Cornelius Tacitus and other authors give of the religion of ſome of the northern nations. Nay, it is certain the Pythagoreans agreed with them in many things, not only in point of doctrine, but alſo in matters of ceremony and practice; as hath been obſerved by many authors, both ancient and modern. Which it is not to be doubted, they had from the Druids, and not the Druids from them; becauſe theſe Druids were their ſeniors in time, if not of a higher claſs in learning. And it is allowed, that the propagation of inſtituted knowledge is always—*ab antiquioribus*—derived from the more ancient. And beſides that, Pythagoriſm was but the profeſſion of a petty ſchool in Italy, when the Druidiſh doctrine was entertained and celebrated over a great part of Europe.

I ſhall here, before I cloſe this ſection, ſubjoin a paſſage relating to this affair, which I lately met with in an anonymous author; who would fain make Angleſey, with her ſiſter the iſle of Man, to have been thoſe two Fortunate Iſlands ſo much talked of by the ancients. His words are theſe:

"The two Fortunate Iſlands, ſo much talked of and celebrated by the ancient poets, have been for many ages laſt paſt utterly loſt and not

* There are vallies among the Helvetic alps called *Coons* to this day. The Latin *Campus* ſeems to be derived from it. There is alſo a high hill in Cumberland which retains the name of *Black-Coom*, probably from the black valley below it.

to

to be diſcovered. Among many ſuppoſals let us add ſome. They were two, and ſo are theſe: they went both by one general name, and ſo did theſe; being called *Monæ*, that is, the one *Môn*, the other *Manaw*; the one the bigger, the other the leſſer; the one the nearer, the other the more remote.

" The ancient philoſophers and poets were great celebraters of virtue, and thereupon for encouragement of men did affirm there was a place of pleaſure or reſt, whereto after this life they were carried who had lived regularly: and that place was ſometimes called the Elyſian Fields, as at other times the Fortunate Iſlands.

" They did farther fancy, that though there were other delights, yet above all, the pleaſure of converſe with the juſt, and a relaxation from care, was moſt valuable; they might therefore conceit the better of theſe iſlands above other places, becauſe of the ſtrict life of the Druids, a religious people here dwelling, ſequeſtered from the cares of the world, and doubtleſs of a great name and virtue, at their firſt ſitting down.

" Their name *Monæ* imports alſo a ſolitary place, as monaſtical among the religious has the like ſignification from the Greek language. The two Fortunate Iſlands were, in the judgment of the beſt writers, generally, by the report of Natalis Comes, a noted mythologiſt, ſeated upon the weſtern coaſt of Britain; they were in the Atlantic Ocean by common conſent; and theſe are there alſo; for in ancient time that tract of ſea lying beyond the coaſt of Africa and Europe to the Weſt, was called from the mountain Atlas (probable enough) the Atlantic ſeas; the ſtreights thereby being the outlet of them to the Grecian and Roman countries, who ſucceſſively lorded it over this part of the world.

" The Elyſian Fields or Fortunate Iſlands were ſaid to be full of ſhades; the Druids here nouriſhed many woods to perform their ſuperſtitious rites in; Angleſey was called *Ynys Dowyll* *, a dark and ſhadowy iſland, from the wood there growing; the Greek and Latin poets anciently reckoned the North their right hand, and the South their left, from their way of looking to the Weſt, towards the Elyſian Fields. More might be ſaid (ſays the author) to this purpoſe, which I omit. I will add in the cloſe the opinion of ſome few of note: Homer thought they were on the coaſts of Britain; Iſacius Tzetzes, a Greek author of account in Camden's opinion, reports they were with the Britons: and the ſtory of Plutarch, in the life of Sertorius, I will repeat, which methinks is not diſtant from what we are now ſpeaking of.

* *Ynys Dowell.*

"Sertorius, upon his retreat out of Spain, was forced to take the ſea; and being there in little quiet alſo, not allowed to land peaceably on the Spaniſh or African coaſts, he being then in the Mediterranean, at laſt he paſſed the Streights of Gibraltar, and turning on the right towards the Spaniſh ſhore again, he met with divers ſailors, who were coming from the Fortunate Iſlands, ſeated not far one from another, about ten thouſand furlongs from the coaſt of Africa. Sertorius hearing thereof, was ſo taken with a reſolution of going to live there retired from the wars, that had not the pirates of Cilicia forſaken him, upon hearing of theſe his determinations, it is likely he had attempted to go there. Now theſe iſlands are much about the ſame diſtance; and if they be not theſe, I will give over my enquiry with Dr. Heylin, who having ſearched diligently for them in all remarkable places of the world, ſeems at laſt to leave his hopes in the plain fields, as out of expectation to find out where they are; for I think not of any ſuch probable two, on our coaſts, where it was in ancient time ſtrongly reported they were, if they be not theſe." So far the ſaid author in his book entitled, *Hiſtoriæ Britannicæ Fragmentum.*

Now to reflect in a word or two on the probability of theſe arguments. It is indeed, as biſhop Stillingfleet retorts on Olaus Rudbeck's Atlantis, ſome degree of inhumanity not to ſuffer any one to think beſt of, and even to magnify if he pleaſe his own native country, whatever it be. Yet when the arguments one produces are of weight, let him be of what country he will, their due reſpect and deference ought to be paid them. I eaſily foreſee what objections are at hand to this gentleman's opinion. Alas! they'll ſay, are not theſe iſlands too coarſe a place, too bleak, cold, and rugged to be thoſe ſweet delicious habitations? I anſwer, perhaps indeed they are ſo; and that thoſe Elyſian Fields and Fortunate Iſlands might be ſomewhere elſe, if they ever had any other exiſtence than in the poets' fancies. But to proſecute the objection a little farther—Let ſuch as would inſiſt on it conſider, that at thoſe early times, when thoſe notions were cheriſhed, the face of the earth had no greater paint and varniſh on it in one place than another; appearing then, as well in thoſe countries where that opinion reigned, as in theſe countries which are not now to be compared to them, in its own native dreſs and ſimplicity. And in that condition and circumſtance I would fain aſk any one who underſtands the climates of the globe, whether the fancies of the people of thoſe hotter coun-

tries, who were frequently annoyed with the ſun's ſcorching viſits, were not more elevated, and their affections and ſenſes touched with a greater goût and reliſh of pleaſure, at the repreſentation of a country more cool and breezy, and yet warm enough, than of any other equally hot or hotter regions, however garniſhed and pleaſantly ſituated. In a word, whether a country by nature removed from the noiſe and tumults of the world, equally free from the annoyances of heat and cold, furniſhed with all the neceſſaries of life, full of delicious groves, pleaſant ſhades, bubbling ſprings—Their woods reſounding with nature's muſick; curiouſly cut into various forms, into theatres and temples—Here running out into pleaſant walks, and there extended in ſhady viſta's and apartments—And above all, a company of divinely inſpired ſouls, walking and meditating *here*, abounding with inſtructive documents of virtue and profound diſcoveries of nature—I ſay, whether a country thus advantaged and qualified, being repreſented to the genius of a ſtudious Greek or Phœnician, would not with him complete the idea of a wiſhed Elyſium? And this iſland being, at that time, under the culture of theſe learned thoughtful Druids, in all probability ſuch, I ſhall leave the anſwer to aſſoil the objection; and ſhall now from this hint out of Plutarch proceed to relate another that comes more to the purpoſe.

This learned Greek in his Tract of "The Ceſſation of Oracles," ſpeaking of the Genii or thoſe gods of the Gentiles, whom they pretended to have informed and actuated thoſe idols by whom, before the incarnation of Chriſt, theſe oracles were delivered, gives us a ſtory of a certain perſon, ſent with ſome ſhips by the Roman * emperor, who by probable circumſtances ſeems to have been Claudius, with directions to diſcover the weſtern coaſts of Britain. The relation Plutarch gives of that expedition is this:

"There are many iſlands which lie ſcattered about the iſle of Britain after the manner of our Sporades. They are generally unpeopled,

* Though I have referred this diſcovery by Demetrius of the weſtern iſles of Britain to the emperor Claudius, becauſe ſoon after the Iſle of Mona came to be poſſeſſed by the Romans; and a little after that, the other weſtern iſles were thoroughly diſcovered by the Roman fleet under Julius Agricola; ſo that there was no need of another in the time of Adrian the emperor, to whom ſome would aſcribe this action. Yet I find that Tacitus ſays in the life of Agricola, that Caligula had entertained a deſign to attack Britain, and to that end it is not unlikely but that he ſent this Demetrius on that expedition, and that he returned not to Rome with the account of his voyage till the beginning of Claudius's reign, who performed that deſign in perſon, and ſettled colonies in the ſouthern parts of the iſland.

and

and ſome of them are called the * Iſlands of the Heroes. One Demetrius was ſent by the emperor to diſcover thoſe parts, and arriving at one of the iſlands, next adjoining to the iſle of Britain before-mentioned, he found it inhabited by ſome few Britons, but thoſe held *ſacred* and *inviolable* by all their countrymen. Immediately after his arrival the air grew black and troubled, and ſtrange apparitions were ſeen: the winds raiſed a tempeſt, and fiery ſpouts and whirlwinds appeared dancing towards the earth. When theſe prodigies ceaſed, the iſlanders informed him, that ſome one of the aerial gods or Genii, ſuperior to our nature, then ceaſed to live. For as a taper while burning (ſays Plutarch) affords a pleaſant harmleſs light, but is noiſome and offenſive when extinguiſhed; ſo thoſe heroes ſhine benignly upon us and do us good, but at their death they turn all things topſy-turvy, raiſe up tempeſts, and infect the air with peſtilential vapours."

This ſtory, though the learned Camden took it to be fabulous, is very remarkable; and if the author had but named the iſland, it would be the earlieſt account, excepting one that will juſt now follow, that has to any purpoſe been made of it. But though he named it not, yet any one may ſee that the deſcription which Demetrius gave of that inhabited iſland he had entered into, does, next naming it, abundantly ſatisfy any impartial man, that it was this very Iſle of Mona.

For, FIRST, his diſcovering it in the time of Claudius (for before then Plutarch came not to Rome to be in a way to have this intelligence) ſhews it was one of our weſtern iſlands; the ſouthern and eaſtern iſles having been diſcovered by other emperors ſome years before; and its being *inhabited*, when he found other of thoſe iſlands unpeopled, as many of the leſſer ones then undoubtedly were, ſhews alſo that it was an iſle of ſome extent: and his deſcribing the ſituation of it, as neareſt to the continent of Britain, confirms the more its being the Iſle of Mona; for there is no other iſle I know of but this, that comes ſo properly under that circumſtance.

SECONDLY, The inhabitants of it, he ſays, were but few. Perhaps moſt of the prieſts were abroad in the provinces, exerciſing their functions in their particular diſtricts, which theſe Druids were wont to do, as I have ſhewed before. But ſuch as were at home in the iſland, he expreſly ſays, were by all the people held *ſacred* and their perſons *in-*

* *Ynys y Cedyrn*, as this was anciently called; and on that account probably Tacitus gives it the character of *Inſula Incolis valida*. Annal. lib. xiv.

violable. This character goes as far as any one can wish to prove the inhabitants of the isle he mentions to have been the religious Druids; and that they were among the people of that great respect and authority, as we find indeed those men were, that none durst in the least molest or control them.

THIRDLY, He gives account of a discourse he had with some of those holy men about the cause of unusual storms and tempests, upon the occasion of a very prodigious one that happened when he was among them. These men account not for it from natural causes, it being looked upon by them as a prodigy of a very remarkable and unusual appearance; and therefore they determine of it in a supernatural way, agreeable to the principles of that set of men; who, as appears in the last section, generally entertained the Pythagorean hypothesis, and the ancient theology of the Phœnicians and Egyptians; whose opinion of the mortality of the Genii, or aerial demons, shifting from one vehicle to another, which they reckon to be the dying of these inferior gods, is very well known *. And these men giving a specimen of their knowledge that way intimates, that they were these religious Druids which the person mentioned conversed with in that island. So that upon the whole it may be, I presume, well concluded, that those two relations from Plutarch fairly hint at this Isle of Mona and its religious Druids; and that he is only wanting in not naming it. But since he does not name it, I shall lay no great stress upon it, but take it as a collateral evidence to support other more express testimonies; which I suppose will be of force to make it appear, that this Isle of Mona was the prime seat and chief residence of the celebrated ancient Druids.

There is another account in Diodorus Siculus † out of Hecatæus, of a northern island of considerable bigness, little less than Sicily, situated over-against the Celtæ, (which I shall mention here only on the score of probability) inhabited by the Hyperboreans; which name the Greeks at first gave to all the northern nations. He describes it as a fruitful pleasant isle, dedicated to Apollo; and that most of the inhabitants of it were priests and songsters. They had in it a large grove and a temple of a round form, to which these priests frequently resorted with their harps, to chant and celebrate the praises of, and to sing hymns to, Apollo their great deity. He says, they had a language of their

* See Dr. Henry More's Immortality of the Soul, lib. iii. cap. 4, 5. † Lib. iii. cap. ii.

own;

own; and that ſome Greeks had been in it, and preſented valuable gifts to their temple, with Greek inſcriptions on them; and that one Abaris * came from them to Greece, and contracted friendſhip with the Delians. He adds, that for the ſpace of nineteen years their god Apollo uſed to come and converſe with them: And which is the more remarkable, they could, as if they had the uſe of teleſcopes, ſhew the moon very near them; and diſcover therein mountains and heaps of rocks, which that inſtrument alone can do. Then he concludes, that over their ſacred town and temple there preſided a ſort of men called *Boreadæ*—called ſo at that time and by the then Greeks—who were their prieſts and rulers.

Now to make a juſt reflection on this paſſage—There being no iſland of that ſize northward of Greece in the Euxine ſea, or any place of that coaſt; and the poſition of this being expreſly ſaid to be oppoſite to the Celtæ, who were the inhabitants of Britain and Gallia; with other agreeing circumſtances, excepting the ſize of it compared with Sicily, which laſt circumſtance (the geography of places in thoſe early times being uncertain) might be miſreported; it may, I ſay, with theſe circumſtances appear highly probable that the Iſle of Mona was meant in that relation. And if ſo, this is the earlieſt account we meet with of it, in any hiſtory. For Abaris † was contemporary with, and a ſcholar of Pythagoras, about the fifty-fourth Olympiad, and five hundred and ſixty-three years before the birth of Chriſt, as Porphyry and Jamblicus mention. And this Abaris, by the account of theſe authors, was a great magician, as ſome of the Druids were known to be. All which together may add credit to this, though a Greek ſtory. And to confirm it the more, it is well known that the Britiſh iſles held great correſpondence and familiarity, by means of the Phœnician traders, with the Grecian iſlands; and that the learning of Pythagoras was in great repute with the Britiſh Druids; ſome of whom, as this Abaris did, might frequently come to viſit and converſe with the Greeks in thoſe iſlands, and leave this character of it among them. However it was, I urge this ſtory no farther than the foundation it is built upon will bear, on which let the reader paſs his own judgment.

* Surnamed perhaps *ap Rees*. The Greeks and Romans took Britiſh ſurnames with their prefixes, as one name; as Praſulagus and Arviragus were probably but *ap Rees leg* and *ap Meyric*.

† See biſhop of Worceſter's Letter to Dr. Bentley, p. 45, 55, and Chronol. 7.

SECTION IX.

That the Druids reſided originally and metropolitically in the Iſle of Mona: *Of the Romans' conqueſt of the iſland, and the conſequences of that conqueſt; with a conjecture of the removal and departure of theſe Druids.*

IT is generally allowed that univerſal conſent and tradition, where evidences to the contrary are wanting, are in all caſes of conſiderable weight and prevalence to infer a concluſion; and though in the caſe before us it be I confeſs at this time of day of no great moment, whether theſe ſuperannuated Druids ſeated themſelves in this place or no; yet as the matter relates to a point of hiſtory, any one that is concerned in it is obliged to give it what light he can, and the nature of the thing will bear.

I think I may take it for granted, that it is the generally-received account among all ſorts of people in Wales, who pretend to any thing of antiquity, that the Iſle of Mona or Angleſey was anciently the ſeat of the Britiſh Druids. Nay, there is not a book lately written of hiſtory or geography, which touches the Iſle of Angleſey, but gives the ſame account; though the opinion for all I could yet ſee, rather ſeemed to have been taken upon truſt, paſſing from hand to hand among thoſe authors who have lately mentioned it, than well ſettled upon its due foundation and evidence. It is to no purpoſe to recite inſtances, which are too many; and which only ſerve to prove a conſent, and that it has not been till of late years contradicted, which is all I propoſe in this part of the proof.

It is true, there has been ſome competition between the Iſle of Angleſey and the Iſle of Man for that pre-eminence, managed with ſome heats between the Welſh and the Scottiſh antiquaries. But that difference was not ſo much about the *thing*, in which they all concurred, as about the *name*, viz. whether Angleſey or the iſle of Man was the true Mona mentioned by Tacitus. But that point our countryman, Mr. Humphrey Lloyd, has cleared beyond all diſpute againſt the equally falſe as frivolous ſuggeſtions of Hector Boetius and Polydore Virgil. Yet it may well appear that the Scotch were not altogether out in one reſpect: and I muſt, with ſubmiſſion, profeſs my concurrence with them ſo far as to believe it very probable, that the iſle of Man was alſo called Mona, and did anciently, as well as Angleſey, belong to the religious Druids.

Druids—nay farther, and that the Druids after their expulſion from Angleſey by the Romans, did moſt of them retreat to *Manaw* * or the fartheſt *Môn*; and being ſettled there, did thence maintain their juriſdiction over the unconquered Caledonian Britons. So that indeed upon this ſuppoſal, both ſides of the diſpute may be true and tenable, but in different times; that is, Angleſey might be and probably was the metropolis to the time of the Roman conqueſt, and the iſle of Man likewiſe from that conqueſt to the time of Chriſtianity. And their being truly ſo, might well occaſion thoſe two different traditional accounts; eſpecially as they were both of one and the ſame name, and thereby gave ſtart to theſe diſputes about them; which I ſhall anon more largely make appear.

The authorities of Cæſar and Tacitus conſidered together, though they do not expreſly affirm, yet, by a conſequence that any one may rationally gather from their words, they plainly and poſitively point—and that with as much evidence as any proof of that ſort can admit of—on this Iſle of Mona, as at that time the capital ſeat and academy of theſe religious Druids.

For firſt Julius Cæſar, in his "Commentaries of the Gallic Wars," makes frequent and ample mention of theſe Druids, and of their orders and diſcipline; having it ſeems more than ordinary curioſity to inform himſelf of ſundry particulars relating to their origin and inſtitution. *In Britannia diſciplina eorum reperta, atque inde in Galliam tranſlata eſſe exiſtimatur.* i. e. "Their order and diſcipline, it is thought, was firſt found out in Britain, and thence was conveyed into Gallia."

Now Cæſar is expreſs that their origin and firſt inſtitution, as he was informed, was in Britain. By whom was he informed? by common report and tradition. *Exiſtimatur*, it was then believed and thought ſo. Nay more, Cæſar not only ſays by report that their original was from Britain; but farther adds, that at that very time when he was writing his Commentaries, which is probably conceived to have been when he was on his Gallic expeditions—at that very time theſe Druids had their chiefeſt ſchools and their beſt and moſt accurate learning in ſome place in Britain. For, ſays he, ſpeaking of their learning, *Et nunc* (meaning that very time) *qui diligentius eam rem cognoſcere volunt, plerunque illo* (meaning Britain) *diſcendi cauſâ proficiſcuntur.* i. e. "And now thoſe

* *Manaw* a *Mon* & *aw*, i. e. *Aqua*. As if one ſhould ſay, the *watery Môn*, or *Môn* in the great ocean.

perſons,

perſons here (meaning Gallia) who would arrive to any excellency and perfection in that druidical learning, frequently go over to Britain to complete and accompliſh their ſtudies."

By this it is apparent, that their primary place of knowledge, or head univerſity, was then ſomewhere in the iſle of Britain; where they reſorted from all parts, even from beyond the ſeas, to obtain the beſt and choiceſt learning of the time; and where, no doubt, their numbers were great, and the place conſiderable which entertained thoſe numbers. But what that place was, or where it lay, no extant Roman authors—though in their relations of other things, places, and perſons of far leſs account, they are very minute and particular—ever mention one ſyllable of it, except what is related by Cornelius Tacitus of the Iſle of Mona or Angleſey. And therefore I take it to be in ſome meaſure concluſive, that ſince they mentioned not in any other place the appearance of this religious ſect—which appearance if they had found but the leaſt account or notice of, I can ſcarce believe they would have failed in the mention of it—it muſt be therefore in the Iſle of Mona. Nay, Tacitus himſelf, who is the only author I know of that makes particular mention of this place, does not ſo much as name a Druid in any other part of the Britiſh territories, though he be alſo very exact in recording things of far leſs moment, till he comes to deſcribe the expedition to Angleſey under Suetonius Paulinus, where he makes very particular mention of theſe Druids, of their groves, ceremonies, and worſhip.

It is probable indeed that theſe Druids, who before were every where ſucking the ſweets of the land, upon the approach of the Roman ſtorm were fain like bees to rally home, and to withdraw to their hive, to ſecure themſelves while they were able in their defended iſland, as their ſafeſt ſanctuary. And good reaſon they had ſo to do. For Strabo aſſures us they were all extremely hated by the Romans, who gave them no quarters wherever they met with them. *Ob nefanda hæc ſacrificia omnem Druidum ſuperſtitionem tollere tentârunt Romani, ſed fruſtrà.* i. e. "By reaſon of the horrid ſuperſtitious ſacrifices of theſe Druids, the Romans ſtrongly endeavoured to deſtroy their religion, but could not." And hence it is no wonder, that no Roman author takes notice of them in any other place, when they were not to be ſeen there, but had all retreated to their head-quarters, their laſt place of refuge, this Iſle of Mona.

But here in this iſland, when the Romans knocked at their very doors, were ready to break up their neſt, and unmercifully fall upon them, then it was no longer time for them to ſtand upon privileges, and cry *immunes bello*, that they were no votaries of Mars, no men of war: no, they muſt now to their arms; and, if poſſible, defend themſelves, their groves, temples, and altars. And *here* indeed Cornelius Tacitus comes to the point; where, deſcribing the manner and event of this battle, he ſhews us the place, which Cæſar before had intimated was ſomewhere in Britain. They had one *Archipræſul* or chief Druid among them —*His præeſt unus*, ſays Cæſar. And where was he, but where they all flocked to him? And where did they flock, but to the iſle of Mona? Where Tacitus ſays they were ſeen in great numbers.

Here indeed Tacitus finds them out; as if his pen, having taken the hint from Cæſar, had travelled all the conquered provinces of Britain in queſt of theſe Druids, and of the place of their abodes and ſtudies. And at laſt, by tracing the ſteps of Suetonius Paulinus over a ſmall arm of the ſea, he fell on the very ſpot and place before hinted; and there at the firſt daſh gives us an army of them. For mentioning there the Britains reſiſting the landing of the Romans in the iſland, he ſays, their army (meaning the Britons) was ſurrounded by another army (for he deſcribes them no leſs) of Druids; of both ſexes, men and women; for they had, it ſeems, their nuns and ſiſterhood in that order. *Druidæque circum, intercurſantibus fœminis*, are his words *. And theſe too appeared in ſuch numbers that he calls them *muliebre & fanaticum agmen*, i. e. "a ſquadron of virago's and madmen."

The men Druids ſhewing *here*, no doubt, ſome part of their uſual behaviour at their ſacred ceremonies, i. e. *Sublatis ad cælum manibus diras preces fundendo*, in pouring out vollies of execrations and curſes, with their hands lifted up to heaven, on the inſulting Romans; as the women did theirs alſo, viz. *In modum furiarum, veſte ferali, crinibus dejectis, faces præferendo*, i. e. in running about like furies with burning firebrands in their hands, clad in fearful habits, with their hair waving and dangling behind them.

This very paſſage of the hiſtorian will, with unprejudiced men, render it highly probable, that this was the very place, and theſe the very perſons of the famous Druids; and that that may appear yet to any one more plain and evident, let me only aſk, if theſe Druids' chief ſeat and

* Annal. lib. xiv.

reſidence had been in any other part of the then conquered Britain,—and indeed what part of it had not the Roman army one time or other reached?—how it came to paſs that we had not ſome account, in ſome author, of ſuch an appearance of theſe Druids, playing their laſt game, *pro aris & focis*, as we have it by Tacitus in this iſle of Mona? I need not preſs the queſtion; it is ſo unlikely, that I think no ſatisfactory anſwer can be given it.

We find no where elſe but plain Britiſh fighting. But *here* in this iſle of Mona, the hiſtorian gives a very different account of things. By what he relates of that paſſage, we may perceive the whole action to have had more of a grand religious ceremony in it, than a battle; very ſuitable to ſuch a religious place; very agreeable to ſuch a rabble of impotent cloiſtered bigots. When the Romans were juſt landing, what did the iſlanders do? Where was the accuſtomed Britiſh reſiſtance? To ſhew us what ſort of diſcipline they were under among that beſotted religious crew, the firſt onſet, we find, was begun with the ſpiritual weapons, *dirarum precum*, of curſes and anathema's; whilſt the laics ſtood—*ſtabat pro litore* (ſays Tacitus) *diverſa acies*—ready to execute the Druids' commands on the fierce undaunted Romans; who, to confirm yet my argument the more, that is, that theſe Romans had never before ſeen ſuch an encounter, nor in any place ſuch a ſort of people, *novitate aſpectûs milites perculſi*, were more ſtricken with the novelty and ſtrangeneſs of the ſight, than with any part of the fighting.

But when the ſpiritual ſword proved too ſhort, and the Britiſh arms too weak, to ſacrifice—in which theſe Druids ſeemed only ſkilful—thoſe hardy Romans; they themſelves, I mean the Britiſh people, prieſts and Druids, immediately fell a lamentable ſacrifice to the Romans extremeſt outrage and cruelty; who, to ſhew us yet more plainly, the ſacred furniture of the place, threw the poor Britons with their religious leaders into their own ſacrificing fires—*igni ſuo involvunt*—deſtroying their beloved groves—*exciſique Luci, ſævis ſuperſtitionibus ſacri*—of old accuſtomed to moſt inhuman barbarities; and trampled down and demoliſhed their altars, on which by their mangling the bodies of men they uſed to conſult and appeaſe their incenſed infernal gods. *Nam cruore captivo adolere aras, & hominum fibris conſulere deos, fas habebant.* In a word, what Cæſar ſays in general of theſe Druids, Tacitus aſſures us in ſhort, but fully enough, was practiſed by them in this iſle of Mona.

This

This methinks is ſo unexceptionable a teſtimony of the matter, to any one who views that paſſage of Tacitus with impartial attention, that this iſland was at that time the chief ſeat and reſidence of theſe famous prieſts, that next his ſaying in expreſs terms, that it was ſo, it is a clear moral evidence to oblige the aſſent of any one, that rightly conſiders the liberty of an hiſtorian. And if it be demanded, why he did not expreſly ſay ſo? I anſwer, it was a common affection of his pen to expreſs things vulgarly known, as that was, moſt likely, at the time, under the umbrage of more important characters. For what Tacitus ſays of theſe Druids in that particular, was as intelligible an intimation then of this place's being their chief ſeat and habitation, as it would be now in any French hiſtorian, who ſays that the duke of Bourbon beſieged the Pope and his cardinals in St. Angelo, or that Rome is the Pope's head city.

Now having ſhewed the undeniable conſent of ancients and moderns, the joint authority of Cæſar and Tacitus, which were enough of themſelves to evince what I urge, without any farther proof; yet I will not reſt here, but ſhall go one ſtep further, by ſhewing ſuch ancient remains and monuments, as both by the agreeableneſs of their names, and coherences of things and circumſtances, make evident demonſtration, as much as things of that nature can bear, of their being the relics of, and anciently belonging to, the before-mentioned rites and cuſtoms of the ancient Britiſh Druids.

FIRST, In reſpect of names—Though time, the great devourer both of names and things, hath made almoſt as clean work here as in any other place; yet it hath left us ſome, and by good fortune ſuch too, as plainly anſwer the chief paſſages delivered of them in Greek and Roman authors; which I preſume no other place, either in Britain or Gaul, can produce.

I have before hinted, how apartments and diviſions of places here were moſt anciently diſtinguiſhed into *Bôds*, *Caers*, and *Trevs*. And that thoſe names were promiſcuouſly uſed and applied to particular precincts and allotments. Now in the chief part of this iſland, called *Cwmmwd Mæne*, in the very centre of that diviſion, we are able to ſhew ſome of the ancient apartments of *Caers*, *Trevs*, and *Bôds*, which have retained and kept to this day the appellation of all the forementioned orders of the Druids. Nay, not only the names retained, but alſo the orderly and regular poſition of the places which bear thoſe names, ſo nearly ad-

I

joining and bordering one upon another, may contribute no ſmall evidence to the truth of the conjecture.

To inſtance; They had, it is allowed by all, one *Archipræſul* or head Druid, called *Dryw, propter excellentiam*; and there, in that precinct, even in the middle of it, is a *Trev* or townſhip called *Tre'r Dryw*, the Druid's town. This head Druid was in all probability nearly attended by the other orders, and his dwelling accommodated by the vicinity of thoſe ſeparate conventual ſocieties; and theſe orders and ſocieties you have ſeen before diſtinguiſhed out of Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus into *Drudau*, *Offwyr*, and *Beirdd*. Now for the *Drudau*, we have *Boddrudau*; for the *Offwyr*, we have *Bodowyr*; and for the *Beirdd*, we have *Tre'r-Beirdd*. All theſe not only adjoining to, but almoſt ſurrounding *Tre'r Dryw*, the head Druid's ſuppoſed ſeat and manſion.

Beſides theſe more ſubſtantial notes of Druidiſm, that preſerve the memory of their whole ſyſtem; there are in that precinct to be taken notice of, other circumſtantial memorials of the more obſervable parts of their diſcipline and worſhip; deducible out of the remaining extant names of theſe places. Of which take theſe inſtances.

Gildas the Briton intimates that they had in the time of the Druids conſecrated rivers and mountains. And there runs through the middle of theſe diviſions the river *Breint*, i. e. the *Chief* or *Royal* River. The river *Brenta* in Italy perhaps was ſo called on that account; and I know not but *Havren* might be originally called * *Awivraint* or *Avraint*, that is, the *Royal* or *Conſecrated* River. Cæſar mentions their ſupreme conſiſtorial court or tribunal. There is in this place a great circular bank of earth, mounted on a plain piece of ground, and called to this day *Brein-Gwyn*, i. e. the ſupreme court or conſiſtory. As the ancients deciphered aſtronomy by the name of † *Edris*, a name attributed to *Enoch*, whom they took to be the founder of aſtronomy; ſo there is juſt by, a ſummit of a hill called *Caer-Edris* or *Idris*; and not far off, another place called *Cerrig-Brudyn*, i. e. the aſtronomers ſtones or circle. Theſe religious prieſts above all things affected walks and ſolitudes; and there is bordering on one of their townſhips a ſmall villa called *Myſyrion*, i. e. a place dedicated to ſtudies and contemplation. It was their exceeding care and concern to nouriſh and cultivate groves of oak, as is teſtified by many authors; and hard by theſe townſhips

* *Awy* being the ancient word for a river.

† Vide Theophil. Galeum, de Generali Philoſoph. p. 12.

aforeſaid,

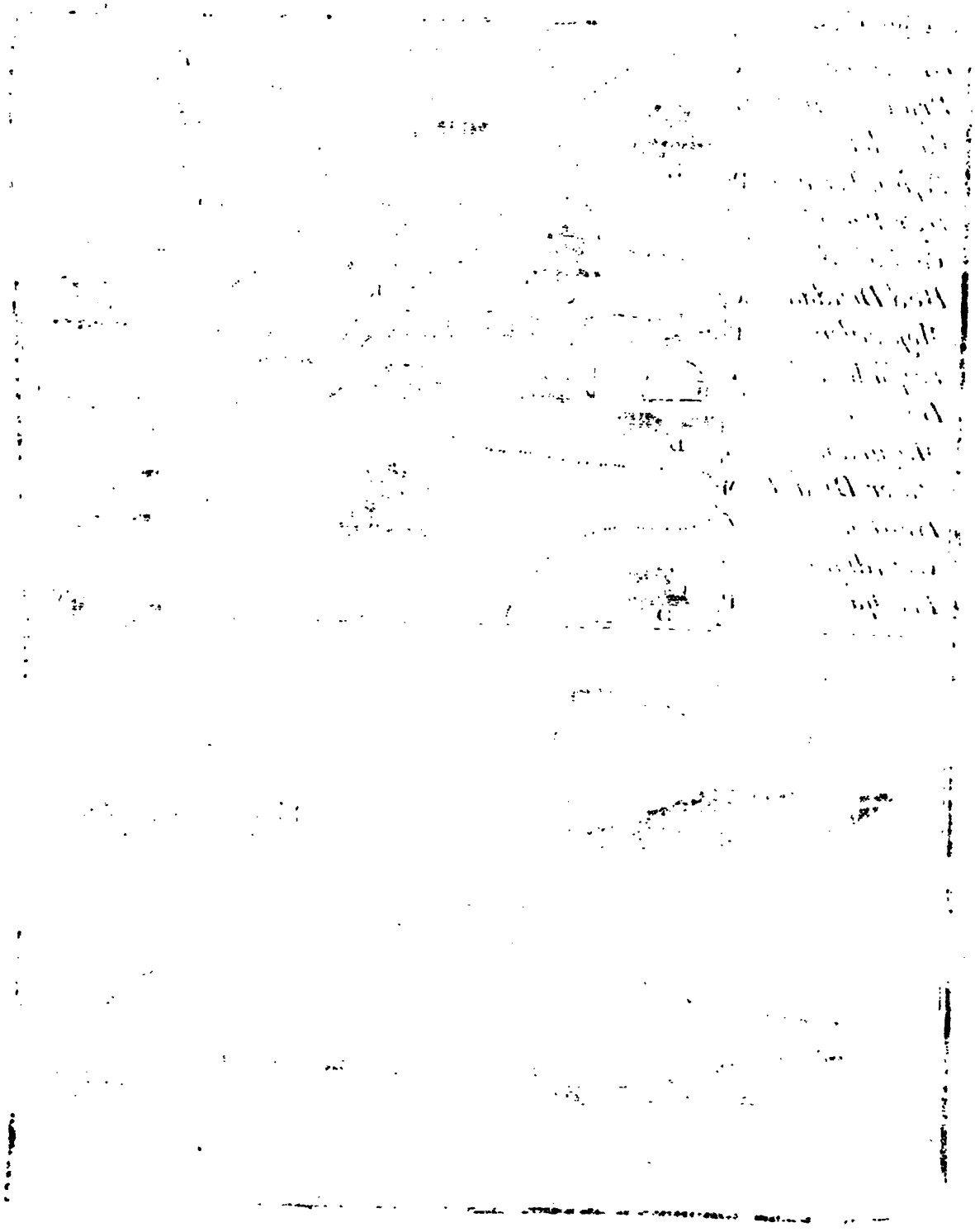


fig. 1.

Tre'r Dryw	A
Bryn-Gwyn	B
Caer-leb	C
Cefn y Ferwen	D
Tre'r Beirdd	E
Castell Edris	F
Bod Drudau	G
Mosfoglen	H
Tref ir Wydd	I
Bodonvyr	K
Myfyrion	L
River Braint	M
Bodlew	N
Gwydryn	O
Tre'Ifan	P

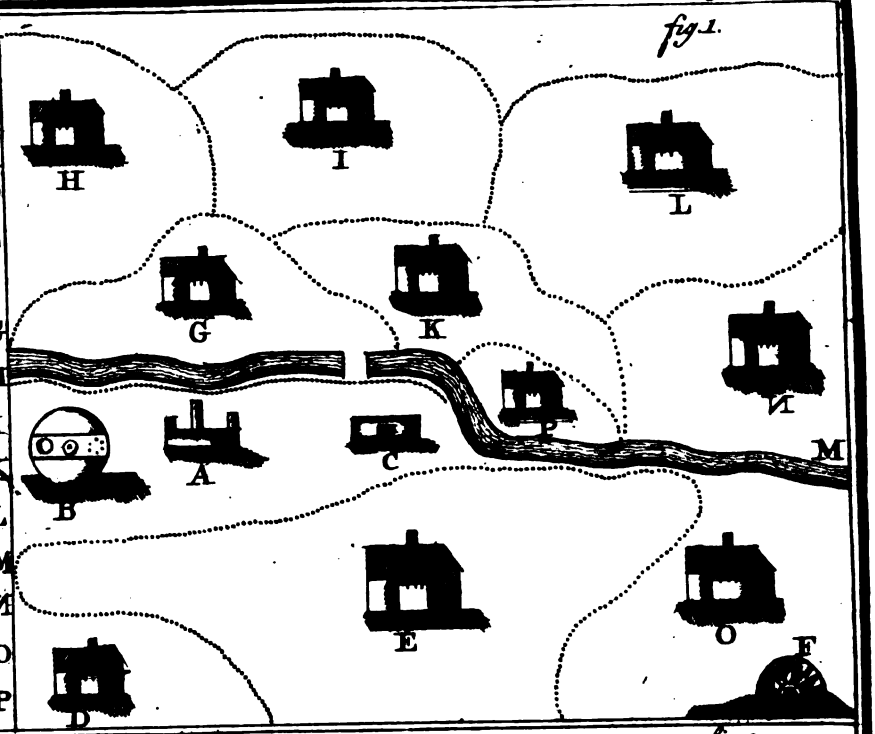
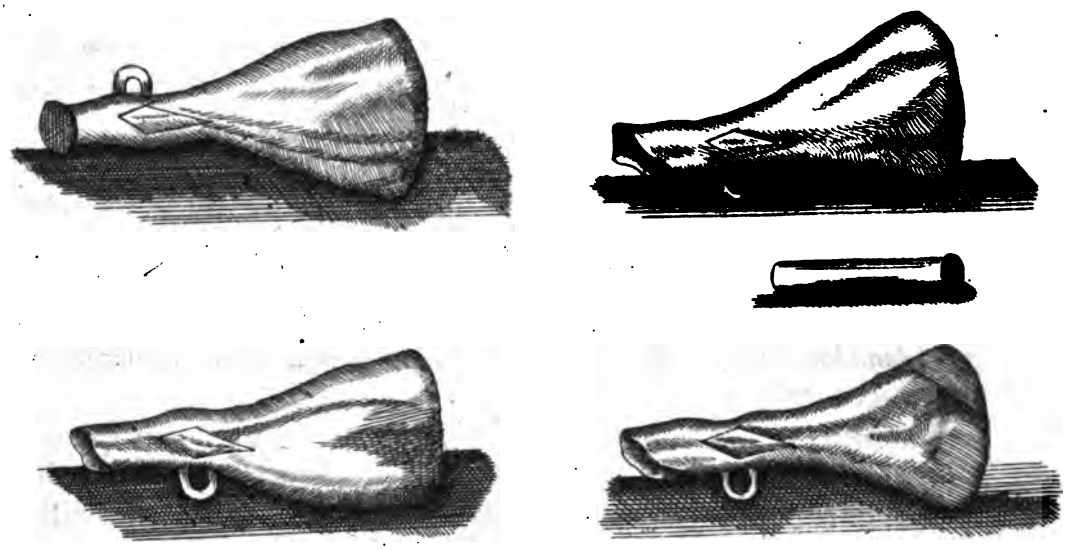


fig. 2.



aforeſaid, that retain the names of their orders, is a ſmall precinct or townſhip called *Trev-îr-wydd*, i. e. the townſhip of young trees, or the nurſery of their ſacred oak. There is alſo juſt by, a place called *Myſſoglan*, perhaps from *Viſcus* or *Miſſeltoe*, (*V* and *M* being promiſcuouſly uſed in ancient times) a plant they highly venerated; and another called *Ceſn y Verwen*, i. e. the juniper-tree's hillock, a tree of ſacred uſe alſo in antiquity, as may ſomewhat appear by the prophet's taking it for his tabernacle (1 Kings xix. 4, 5) under which the angel of the Lord appeared to him. All which places, as the analogy of their names ſpeaks ſomething of Druidiſm, ſo they lie bordering on thoſe precincts which bear the names of all their orders, as repreſented in plate II. fig. 1.

There are alſo in other places of this iſland ſome ſcattered relics of theſe names. There is *Bodowyr* in *Bodedern* pariſh; *Alaw'r Beirdd* in *Llanvachreth*; *Maen y Dryw* in *Llan Elian*; and *Llanvihangel Tre'r Bardd*; but in no place ſuch a ſkeleton, ſuch a regular and orderly poſition of the remains and ruins of Druidiſm, as I have obſerved and picked up in the pariſh of *Llanidan* and its neighbouring townſhips.

I muſt own that ſome of theſe names might with ſome colour and likelihood be aſcribed to other cauſes than what I have here aſſigned them; as *Trev-ir-wydd* might be ſo called from *Merwydd-hên*, who was indeed ſome time tenant of that land; and *Caer-Edris* alſo might have its name from *Æneas ap Edris*, who was free tenant there likewiſe. But for all this, whoever conſiders how uſual it was with the Britons to give names to their children from the names of certain places, to which they had ſome particular relation, as *Tegyd*, *Teganwy*, &c. will find reaſon to believe, that theſe names were rather conferred on them on that account, than that thoſe places ſhould be ſo called from the perſons that bore thoſe names; eſpecially ſince it is evident that other places of the names I now mentioned in this diſtrict were very ancient, as *Moel-Edris*, *Cader-Idris* or *Edris*; and there is a place in the pariſh of *Llanddeniolen* in Caernarvonſhire called *Caer-îr-wydd*, probably on the ſame account.

SECONDLY, From the names I ſhall deſcend to the things themſelves; and of theſe I may ſay there are ſuch too, as that there are hardly any particulars of note to be accounted for in their whole adminiſtration and worſhip, but one may, in the places I mention, ſhew ſome tokens and footſteps of every point of the relations of Cæſar, Tacitus, and others.

I will

I will here begin with the whole paſſage of Tacitus in relation to this iſland, and the inhabitants of it. He ſays, when Suetonius's army, croſſing that arm of the ſea which divides this iſland from the land adjoining, had got near the ſhore on the iſland's ſide, *Stabat pro litore diverſa acies.* I take his meaning to be, that there ſtood nigh the ſhore the mingled Britons, natives and foreigners, to oppoſe the invaders landing. Now in that place where it is traditionally reported theſe Romans landed, about a bow-ſhot from the water-ſide, is a large field called to this day *Maes Mawr Gad*, or as ſome call it, *Maes Hîr Gâd*, viz. "The great or the long army's field;" from which to the ſhore of the river *Menai* there yet appear ſome remains of little works and entrenchments. A little to the Eaſt of that, juſt on the ſhore, there is a place called the *Rhiedd*, i. e. *Nobilium ſtatio*, "the chief mens poſt;" on which place the other day were taken up from under a ſtone near the ſea-ſhore a parcel of Britiſh * weapons, a ſort of thoſe *jacula amentata*, or ſuch like (as appears probable from their loop-holes and ſockets) in uſe among the ancients. See plate II. fig. 2.

* Theſe braſs or copper weapons are frequently found in the Iſle of Angleſey, as indeed they are in all Wales, as well as in England; which implies, whether Roman or Britiſh, that they were very common and of general uſe with one or both of theſe people. That they were chiſſels to cut and model ſtones, though contended for by ſome learned men, I cannot aſſent to: and what virtue ſoever theſe may imagine the ancients conſidered in that metal, ſure it is that it is utterly unfit for that purpoſe, by being of too lax and ſoft a texture, and its parts not ſtiff and rigid enough to take a hardening as ſteel and iron will do; neither can it be ſaid that braſs was harder then than now, or that they had an art of tempering it which is now loſt, becauſe the very metal itſelf remaining in theſe hatchets, plainly ſhews the contrary; many of them being rather copper than braſs, which is a ſofter metal.

I have ſeen ſeveral of them, and one I have in my own poſſeſſion, which is freſh and ſhews no tokens of being much uſed. It has no hollow in the back part as others have, but a blunt tail depreſſed on each ſide, fitted to faſten ſomething to it: It is four inches and a half long, and two and a half broad at the edge. In wood perhaps ſomething might be done with it, but it is far too ſoft to ſlice and batter any hard ſtones. I have often thought that if they gave this tool a good edge, faſtened one end of a twiſted thong or ſtrap to the loop part, and the other end, like a ſling, to the head of a lance or a long ſtaff, accommodating the hollow part or ſocket with a ſtern or tail of long ſpread feathers, or ſome light thin plate or leather fly-back, like that of a weather-cock, ſet parallel to the edge of the weapon, to balance and guide the motion of it, to fall always like an arrow or a winged dart, on its point and edge, and managed with a ſtrong arm, at the ſtrap's length, and well laid on, it would be capable, by quick repeated ſtrokes, of doing conſiderable damage and execution. Now that the ancient Britons, in their driving chariots, or in any other poſture of fighting, amidſt ſhowers of darts, did uſe theſe ſling-hatchets, if I may ſo call them (which, with a dexterous arm, from one blow given, would quickly return to give another) to annoy and gaul their approaching enemy, is more than I will pretend to ſay; only, that as theſe are very capable of being made uſe of in that manner, ſo it is preſumed their being really uſed ſo will have leave to paſs with others, as no unreaſonable conjecture; and more than conjecture we have little now to affirm of the ancient Britiſh fighting; much leſs will I ſay that this was the only uſe they made of this ready tool, it being perhaps ſerviceable in many others, in their military expeditions.

Next,

Next, as Tacitus ſays they had, meaning the Britons, huge ſacrificing fires near at hand, into which they were thrown by the conquering Romans; ſo now on that very ſpot, where it is ſuppoſed the battle was, there appears a great ſquare *Tumulus* made up of earth and ſtones. Nay, I have been an eye-witneſs of a great quantity of aſhes intermixed with pieces of bones taken out of the ground a yard deep not far from this place, with a ſmall copper-coin of Claudius Cæſar, taken up very freſh and undecayed.

LASTLY, He ſays, *exciſique Luci ſævis ſuperſtitionibus ſacri.* i. e. They had their groves, the till then inſeparable concomitants of the Druidiſh prieſthood, which the ſacrilegious Romans immediately cut down and demoliſhed. And to this day here are places retaining the ancient name of *Llwynau* or groves, as * *Llwyn Llwyd*, † *Llwyn Moel*, *Llwyn On*, ‡ *Llwyn Ogan*, and *Llwyn y Coed*, in or near every one of which may be remarked ſome remains of Druidiſh worſhip; either broken altars, pillars, or remains of a *Carnedd*. And no doubt there were many more groves, whoſe names are loſt and quite forgotten.

It being now made ſomewhat apparent on the evidences produced, that the chief Druidical reſidence was in the Iſle of Mona, and particularly in and about the place now called *Llanidan* pariſh; it may then be expected that that place of all the iſland, muſt be at that time moſt plentifully adorned with variety of formed groves, containing in them mounts, pillars, heaps, altars, and other appurtenances of their ſuperſtitious worſhip. And that although the groves ſurrounding them be now quite gone and periſhed, and the ancient names of them be utterly loſt, yet it may be juſtly expected that many of the more laſting erections (on the ſuppoſal I offer) ſhould remain there, as ſtanding monuments of their long forgotten ſuperannuated uſes. And indeed in that reſpect there are of ſuch enough to anſwer the end, and to give ſufficient ſatisfaction to a juſt and reaſonable enquirer.

But I muſt confeſs, that although I have found and obſerved many ſuch remains in and about the pariſh of *Llanidan*; yet it is too difficult a taſk for me to adjuſt and put them ſo together, as to be able to ſettle a right determinate judgment of the true uſes of them; which I am far from pretending to do. Neither after ſo long an oblivion do I think it likely to be done by any. Only this I ſhall preſume upon, that if I give a reaſonable account of thoſe remains, in relation to thoſe ancient uſes

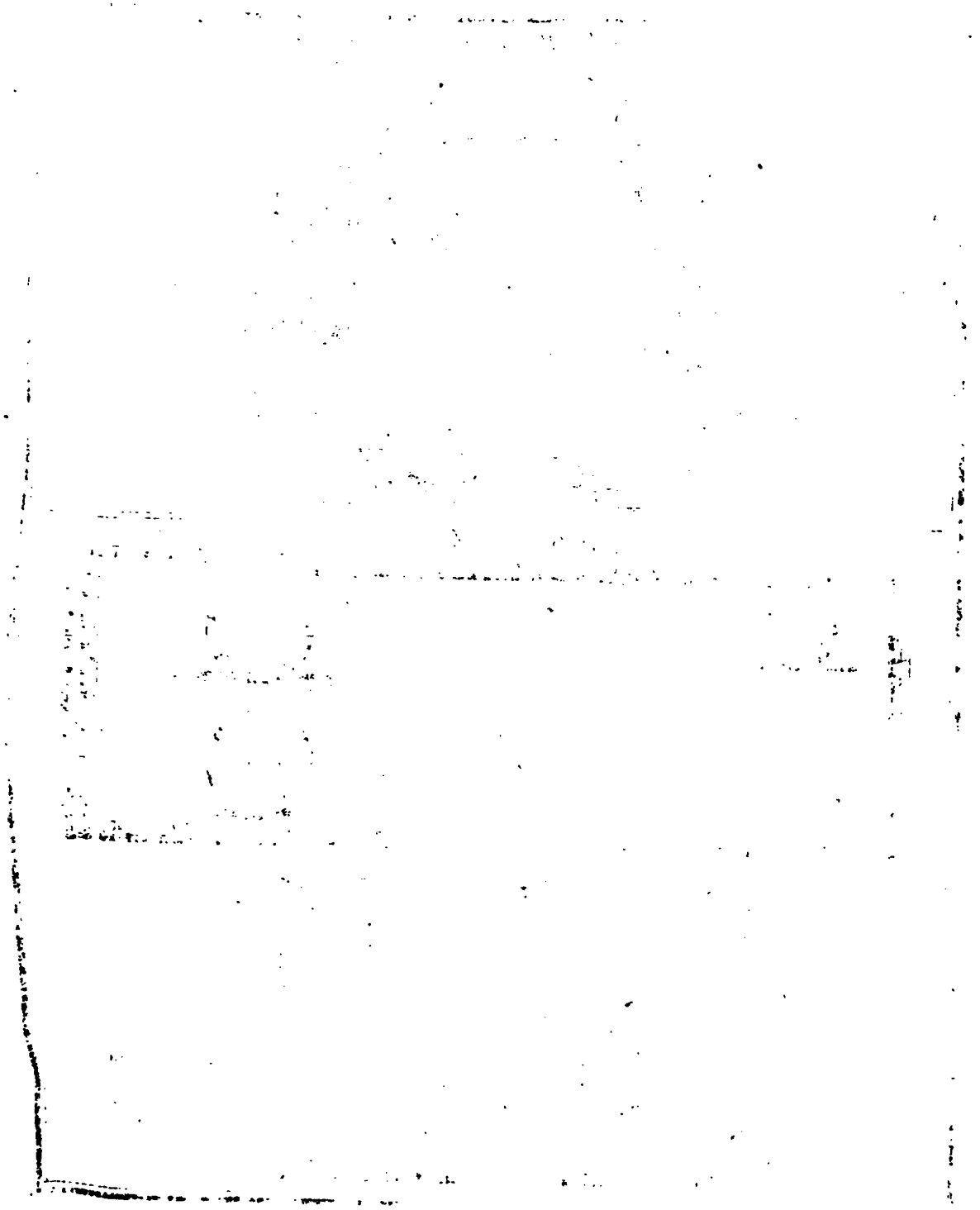
* *Bryn Celli.* † *Plas newydd.* ‡ *Ogan vel Dir-egan*, i. e. *Vaticinium vel Augurium.*

of

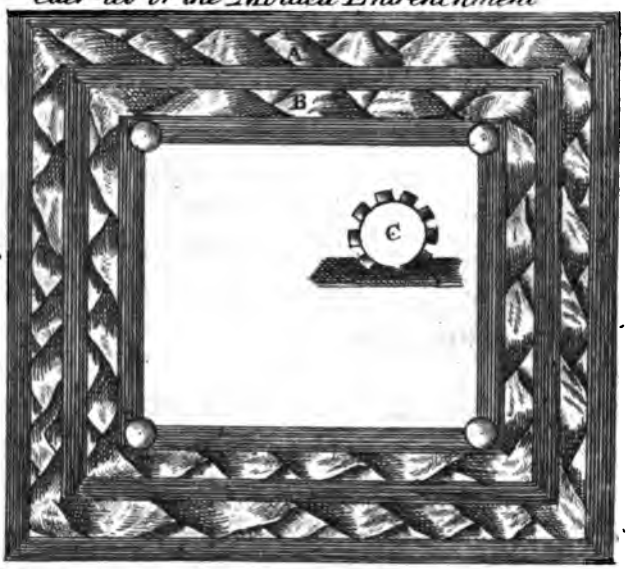
of them diſcoverable in authors of antiquity, and partly before-mentioned, I ſhall perhaps contribute ſome light to that point of hiſtory, ſo far as theſe evidences will extend; and not diſpleaſe thoſe who out of a juſt affection to the antiquities of their native country, are willing to take up with coherent probabilities and reaſonable gueſſes, where more clear and undoubted certainties and hiſtorical evidences are altogether wanting and ſilent in the matter.

FIRST, Since it is ſufficiently evinced that the Druidical ſeat and reſidence was in the Iſle of Mona; and ſince thoſe ancient betokening names and evidences, do principally determine and fix it in this territory; it will be then expected that I ſhew ſome extant remains, in this place, of their habitation and other ſolemnities of their ſacred office and authority; which I ſhall attempt to do by preſenting to my reader's view the particulars following.

It is ſcarce to be doubted, but that the head Druid, agreeable to his dignity and character, had his capital ſeat or manſion, ſurpaſſing all others of the inferior orders and ſocieties in what was then reckoned magnificence and grandeur. But the Britiſh buildings being at that time generally of timber, except their ground-works and foundations, which were of ſtone and entrenched earth; all we can now trace of thoſe palaces and greater ſtructures muſt be from what are left remaining and viſible of thoſe ground-plots and foundations. And by this way of ſearch we are directed to obſerve, in this mentioned territory, even in the middle of the place called the Druids-Town, on a fair extended plain, a raiſed ſquare of about fifty paces over, doubly entrenched, and moated round; and ſo ſituated, that the river *Breint* might be, and probably was, brought in to fill the ditches of it, which were very deep, and are now all choaked up with mud. The innermoſt banks of the entrenchment are yet of ſome height, the angles a little elevated and rounded. The area or green plot within the banks are very even and level, ſhewing as if it had been the ground-floor of an erected wooden palace, having near the middle of it the foundation of a round tower of ſtone or ſtair-caſe. That this was no warlike entrenchment is demonſtrable from its ſituation, it being ſo diſadvantageouſly ſtreightened on each ſide by riſing grounds ſo nearly commanding, that it could afford no defence. And that it had a grove of oak ſometime ſurrounding it (which may be one argument that it was a Druidical ſtructure) the very mud taken out of the ditches of it diſcovers; which near the bottom of the ditch ſeems to be all one maſs of rotten oak-leaves: the whole plain

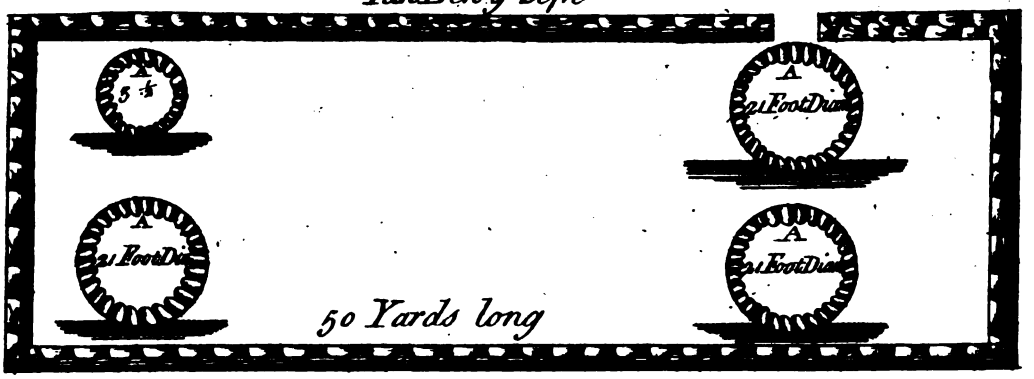


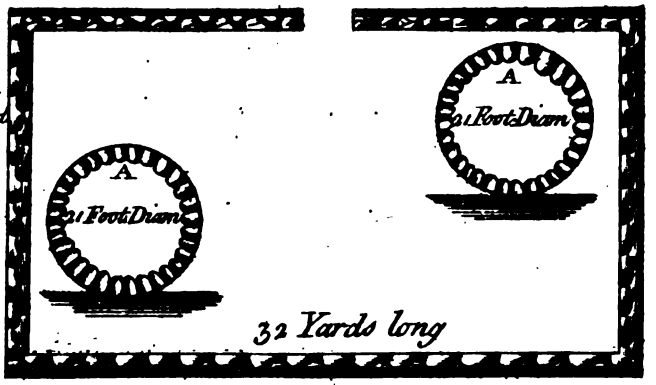
Caer-Leb or the Moated Entrenchment



A ye outer Bank
B ye inner Bank
C ye foundation of a Tower.

Yan Ben y Cefn





A. the Foundation of the British Houses supposed in the upper part to be of Timber

with the entrenched foundation, called now *Caer-leb*, is repreſented in plate III. fig. 1.

Near this laſt-mentioned place, on a piece of ground called *Trev-wry*, there are a great many circular ſtone-foundations on the ſide of the river *Breint*. And alſo on another ſpot of ground hard by, called *Tan ben y Cewn*, there are two large quadrangles lying almoſt contiguous on one ſide *. Their ſtone-foundations, which were very thick, appear of ſome height above ground. In each of theſe ſquares there are ſeveral very large circular foundations, formerly of great ſtrength and capacity, far ſurpaſſing the ordinary Britiſh ruins, which are not unlikely to be the remains of ſome extraordinary Britiſh building in that townſhip. I give only their form, but am not exact in their ſituation, which is of no great moment.

The chief Druid's principal ſeat and manſion being ſuppoſed to be in this precinct; we may alſo expect to find here ſome remains of his great temple and ſupreme tribunal, where we are told were acted the higheſt performances of his ſacred office. And herein indeed we ſhall not be far to ſeek. For in the other end of this townſhip of *Tre'r Dryw*, wherein all theſe ruins already mentioned are, there firſt appears a large cirque or theatre, raiſed up of earth and ſtones to a great height, reſembling a horſe-ſhoe, opening directly to the Weſt, upon an even fair ſpot of ground. Secondly, about a furlong farther, directly Weſt of this round bank, there appear the remains of a ring or coronet of very large erected columns or ſtone-pillars; three whereof are yet ſtanding, together with the ſtump of a fourth, broken a little below the middle; by the poſition and diſtances of which, one may eaſily calculate their number and order to have been eight or nine great pillar-ſtones, pitched in a circle about an included area of about twelve or fourteen yards diameter; both theſe and the cirque laſt mentioned being conceived to lie included within one great grove, exhibit the repreſentation in plate IV. fig. 1.

The round cirque or ſuppoſed theatre at the Eaſt-end is all made of earth and ſtones, carried and heaped there to form the bank; for taken up there they were not, becauſe the bottom within and without lies level with the ſurface of the ground on which it is raiſed. It is within the circumvallation about twenty paces over, and the banks, where whole and unbroken, above five yards perpendicular height.

* See plate III. fig. 2 and 3.

It is called *Bryn-Gwyn* or *Brein-Gwyn*, i. e. " the ſupreme or royal tribunal;" *Brein* or *Breiniol* ſignifying in the Britiſh, *ſupreme* or *royal*; and *Cwyn*, properly ſuit or action, and metaphorically *court* or *tribunal*. And ſuch the place muſt have been, wherever it was, in which a ſupreme judge gave laws to a whole nation. No one can reaſonably imagine it to be properly *Bryn-Gwyn*, i. e. " a *white hillock*;" it being a low ſituation, and the ſoil about it, which ſometimes denominates places, being not of a *white* but of a *reddiſh* complection; neither is there any hillock of that name near it, from which it might be ſo called.

And now though this place, and the ancient name and celebrity of it be altogether forgotten, and quite out of mind; yet the compoſition of the name taken from Britiſh etymons, *Brein* and *Cwyn*, and its poſition ſo near the places which bear the names of all the Druidical orders, may well juſtify the conjecture of its having been once the ſupreme conſiſtory of the Druidiſh adminiſtration. And for a farther confirmation of this particular, we may yet obſerve that the ancient uſe and meaning of that name was not altogether ſo forgotten, but that our language (as names and words of general concernment in any language will not eaſily be forgotten) has till of late preſerved ſome footſteps of it. The Britiſh people, it ſeems, having ſtill continued to apply the name of *Brein-Gwyn* to ſuch places as were of ſupreme and ſovereign judicature, wherever they happened to be; as appears by the remains of ſome, both of our late and ancient Britiſh poets, who took the word *Bryn-Gwyn* in that acceptation, always applying it to ſome ſupreme tribunal.

Pan ſo tri Brenhin
Ar Orſedd y Bryn Gwyn
Gwynfyd y Rhian.

Talieſin.

Here *Gorſedd y Bryn Gwyn* is plainly applied by *Talieſin*, or ſome other ancient poet, to a royal throne or tribunal. Neither is it unlikely but that *Talieſin*, or whoever was author of that ancient ode, might take the word in its Druidiſh acceptation, as having it in that ſenſe from more ancient records and tradition, where it was applied in the wild prophetic way to any ſovereign tribunal. And ſo I find it was by the later poets, viz.

Yr hudd gwrol, hardd gorwyllt,
I eigion eiff' y Werddon wyllt
Daw eilwaith o'i daith i dîr
(I'r Bryn gwyn *braw jowngir)*
A'r hudd warcherir ar hyn
Braw anghof yn y Bryn gwyn.

Dafydd Lhwyd ap Llewelyn,
ynghowydd yr Wylan.

In this *Cowydd* of the poet, the word *Bryn gwyn* is undoubtedly applied to the great council of the nation. But to this purpoſe moſt plain is that of *Adda Frâs*; who almoſt graphically deſcribes the parliament-houſe or Weſtminſter-Hall by the name of *Bryn gwyn*. Both he and the laſt-mentioned poet threatening Henry the Fourth with I know not what Briton, to poſſeſs himſelf of the Britiſh ſceptre, thus deſcribes his motion, viz.

*Ac ynghaſtell y * Follallt yr ymguddia*
Yn Hwnſlo Heth y bydd cadarna
Ac yn Siring Croſs yr ymgadarnhâ
I fyn'd i'r Bryn gwyn *i gael eiſteddfa.*

Adda Frâs.

In the firſt of theſe poets we may obſerve it called *Gorſedd y Bryn gwyn*; *Gorſedd* always denoting a tribunal or judicature; and in the ſecond, the *braw anghof* and *braw jowngir* implying a great conſternation, muſt alſo imply a great aſſembly. But the laſt paſſage is more plain ſtill, where the poet deſcribing the motions of his feigned conqueror, brings him through Hounſlow-Heath to Charing-Croſs, and thence *i'r Bryn gwyn i gael eiſteddfa*, viz. to the great aſſembly or the parliament-houſe at Weſtminſter, where the throne or place of inauguration then only was. It is true, Mr. Camden ſays the Britons anciently called the Tower of London by the name of *Bryn gwyn*; but the ſtate aſſemblies being in thoſe ancient times there kept, they might on the ſame reaſon then call it by that name.

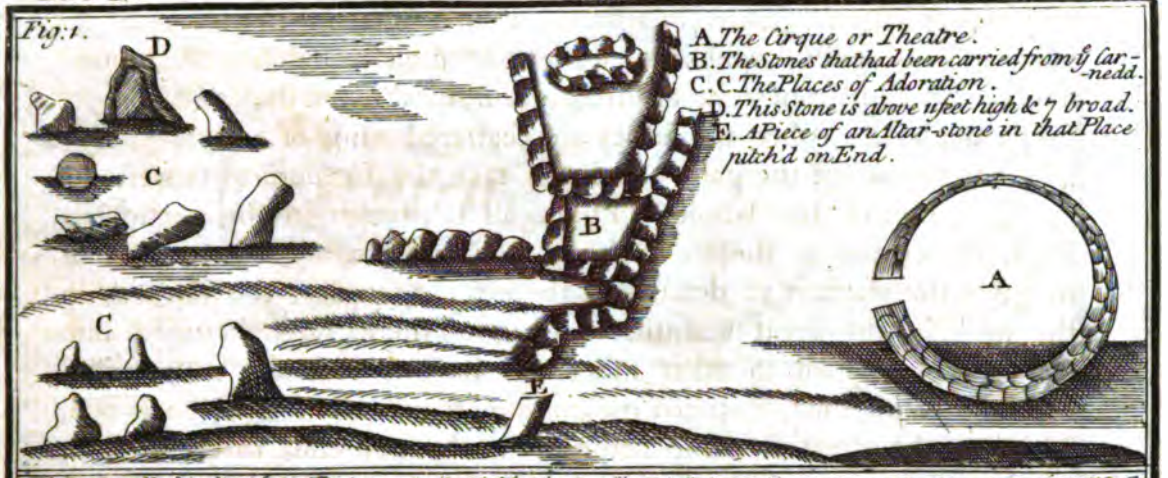
Theſe things being premiſed, I ſhall now venture to repreſent this great druidical grove or temple, as it then conſiſted, or at leaſt might be conceived to conſiſt, of a cirque, *carnedd*, columns, and altars, and

* *Y Felallt. qu.*

ſurrounded with a *quercetum* or a round encloſement of tall and ſpreading oak, in the manner deſcribed in plate IV. fig. 2.

That this great grove or temple was exactly as I repreſent it, no one will expect I ſhould poſitively affirm. For in things of that remote diſtance and ambiguity, a ſober gueſs, grounded on probability of circumſtances and a juſt coherence of things, muſt be allowed to determine and fix particulars. When we ſurvey the ſcattered ruins of a royal palace, may not one adjuſt the parts of it, and take the freedom to repreſent a probable idea of the whole? This is all I attempt in this particular. Firſt, the cirque or theatre at the one end, the name and poſition of it, gives me warrant to determine the uſe. Secondly, the *Carnedd* in the middle, the great quantities of ſtones there, now ſcattered into hedges and applied to other uſes; and having obſerved many other *Carnedds* ſo diſpoſed, induced me to take them alſo to have been one. Thirdly, the great ſtanding columns at the weſt end, three of them whole and entire, and the ſtump of a fourth taken notice of and adjuſted to the reſt, will diſcover to any one the poſition and range of them to be ſomewhat above a third of a circle, in a regular order; who by a view of them, letting his fancy ſupply the want of thoſe that have been broken or carried away, and of ſuch as lye in pieces ſtragling there, with imaginary ones, will eaſily find that the whole ſet of them, when ſtanding, made a ring or coronet of eight or nine pillars, with a large area in the middle. Fourthly, the collateral pillars; four of them ſtanding as I deſcribed them, but of the other four next the cirque there is but one now ſtanding, to which indeed for coherence ſake I took the liberty to add three attendants to anſwer their oppoſite ones: And truly whoever conſiders the kind and quality of theſe ſtones, being planks of limeſtone eaſily diſſolved and broken, will ſoon judge that there were more once erected there; and therefore what I have added to the now ſtanding columns was *(ex pede herculem)* merely for coherence ſake, to purſue the order the reſt were in, and to repreſent the complete idea of what without it would be irregular and defective. Fifthly, for giving them altars, the Druidical diſcipline was my warrant. And ſince I was aſſured they had altars, I could not more fitly place them than between their columns. Laſtly, and the impaling of all within a round *quercetum* or grove of oak, the nearneſs of the parts to one another, and the congruity of the whole in ſuch a form (for ſurely if theſe *heathenish* prieſts uſed groves of oak as ſepts and encloſements about all their celebrated and ſacred places, as Pliny and others aſſure us they did, nature

Fig: 1.



A. The Cirque or Theatre.
B. The Stones that had been carried from y Car-nedd.
C. C. The Places of Adoration.
D. This Stone is above 11 feet high & 7 broad.
E. A Piece of an Altar-stone in that Place pitch'd on End.

Fig: 2.

The great Grove or Temple at Ire'r Dryn

A. The Cirque or Place of Judicature.
B. The Carnedd or Place of Sacrifice.
C. C. C. The Sacraria or Places of Worship.
F. F. F. The Grove inclosing the Whole.

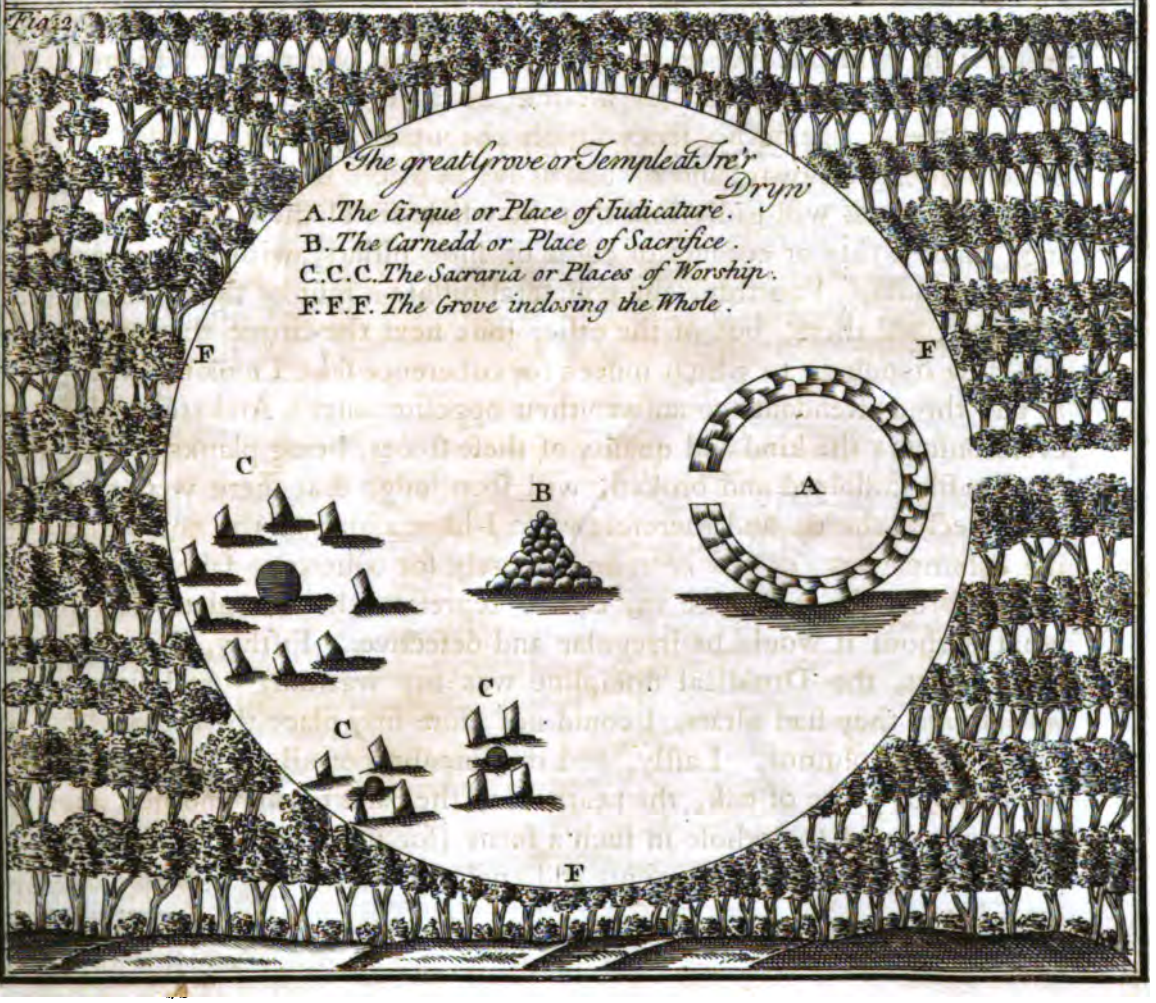


Fig: 1.

Fig: 2.

Length 7 feet, Breadth 6 feet, thickness 6 feet, if upper Stone is a Detruncated Pyramid & Flat at the top.

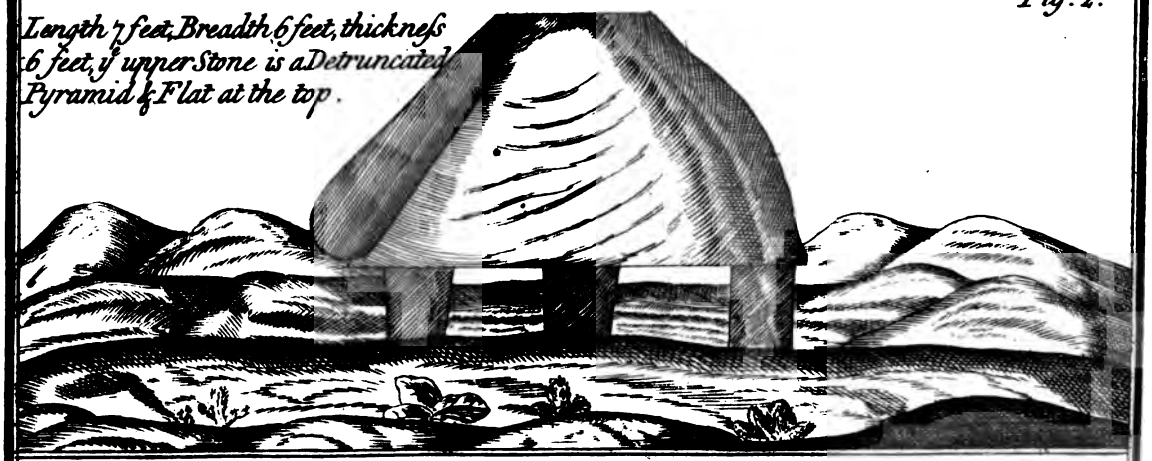
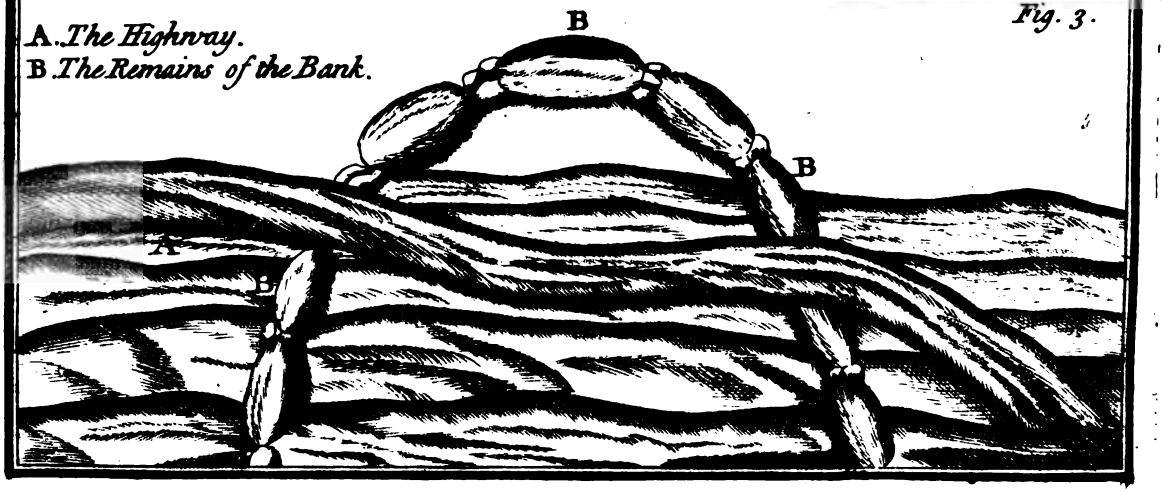


Fig. 3.

A. The Highway.
B. The Remains of the Bank.



itſelf would dictate to them to form and model them in the moſt auguſt and becoming manner) perſuaded me to it.

I ſhall only add, that at or near theſe mentioned monuments have been taken up ſome remains of antiquity; which, being well conſidered, will I preſume ſomewhat favour, if not add confirmation to, the accounts I have here given of them.

Near the mentioned quadrangle at *Caer-leb*, I have been credibly informed there have been taken up ſome years paſt, great copper-claſps like door-hinges, all ruſty, out of one of the ditches ſurrounding it. And not far from that, among the circular foundations that are in great numbers there, a curious enamelled copper-piece, knotted with various colours, of the bigneſs of a milled half crown, with a pedunculus or little ſquare foot to it on one ſide. At the round cirque at *Bryn Gwyn* was taken up, the other day, a * medalium of our Saviour, with the figure of his head and face on the one ſide, exactly anſwering the deſcription given of him by Publius Lentulus; and on the reverſe, a fair Hebrew ſuperſcription bearing this purport, viz. "This is JESUS CHRIST the Reconciler:" of which ſee more in the *Addenda*. The dots in one of the letters repreſent a hole which was at that place fretted through it.

In the other townſhips likewiſe, and on the borders of them, there are to be ſeen either ſtanding or thrown down, divers monuments of Druidiſh worſhip. There is a pretty *Cromlech* ſtanding at the top of a hillock at *Bodowyr*, fig. 2. There is alſo on a riſing part of the ground there, the high-way leading through it, the remains of a ſmall cirque, fig. 3. And on another part of the ground there appear the marks of a *Carnedd*, the ſtones of which in times paſt have been diſpoſed of into walls and buildings.

There are near *Llyſlew Barn*, in the ſame townſhip, the tokens of a *Carnedd*; and a well-ſhaped † pillar of great length, thrown flat on the ground. There is alſo a ſhapely *Cromlech* on the lands of *Blochty* in the townſhip of *Tre'r Beirdd*, now thrown down and lying flat on its ſupporters, fig. 2. And not far from this laſt-mentioned, there appears another demoliſhed *Cromlech*, now called *Carreg-y-frân*, which ſeems to have been a double one; the two larger incumbent flat ſtones, with many leſſer ſupporters lying diſorderly, leaning on one another, fig. 3.

There are alſo the ruins of a ſmall *Cromlech* not far from the laſt-mentioned at a place called *Barras*. A large demoliſhed one at *Tyddyn*

* See plate V. fig. 1. † See plate VI. fig. 1.

Cæſar,

Cæſar, in the pariſh of *Llan Edwen*. Another ruined one at *Rhôs y Cerrig*, in *Llanddeiniel* pariſh. The remains of one near *Carreg Wydrin*. There are alſo up and down many remains of pillars and erected columns in all theſe precincts; ſome ſingle, and ſome ranged in circles; moſt of them broken and caſt down, probably by the conquering Romans, or by the zeal of ſucceeding Chriſtians; to both of whom the vile cuſtoms of the Druidiſh prieſts, and the appurtenances of their barbarities, were equally hateful.

But of ſuch *Cromleche* as remain yet undemoliſhed, there is but one beſides that at *Bodowyr* to be ſeen in all theſe precincts; and that a very large one, before mentioned, ſtanding near *Plâs newydd*, formerly *Llwyn Moel*, where it is probable one of their larger groves was. It is a double * *Cromlech*, a larger and a ſmaller contiguous together. There is alſo at *Plâs newydd* wood one of the largeſt *Carnedds* in the Iſle of Angleſey; yet ſcarce diſcerned and diſtinguiſhed from a mount of earth, the ſtones being overgrown with earth and moſs, and great trees growing thick upon it. It lies in a dry bottom, without any pillars now ſtanding by it, fig. 2. There are alſo in *Llanddeiniel* pariſh, at a place called formerly *Llwyn Llwyd*, now *Bryn Kelli*, the remains of two *Carnedds*, within a few paces of one another; the one, fig. 3. is ſomewhat broken and pitted into on one ſide, where the ſtones have been carried away; the other, fig. 4. having had its ſtones almoſt all taken away into walls and buildings, with two ſtanding columns erected between them.

There are alſo great numbers of ſingle columns up and down the fields in this part of the iſland; ſome of large ſize, and ſome of leſſer, which I paſs by. But one thing I muſt take notice of, which is ſomething remarkable, or at leaſt ſuch as I never obſerved before: and that is, on the top of a riſing ground near *Bodlew* in the pariſh of *Llanddeiniel*, a deep excavated area, of conſiderable length and breadth, very flat and level at the bottom, of the form of a pear, *in plano*, edged about with ſtones and a bank of earth; and the entrance into it is in the ſmaller narrow end: it is commonly called *Hên Fonwent*, having the ruins of a chapel in the middle called *Capel Cadwaladr*, fig. 5.

The building in the middle of the plot ſeems by the ſituation and form of it to have been a Chriſtian oratory; the name, viz. *Capel Cadwaladr* atteſting the ſame. But what the place was anciently I know not.

* See plate VII. fig. 1.

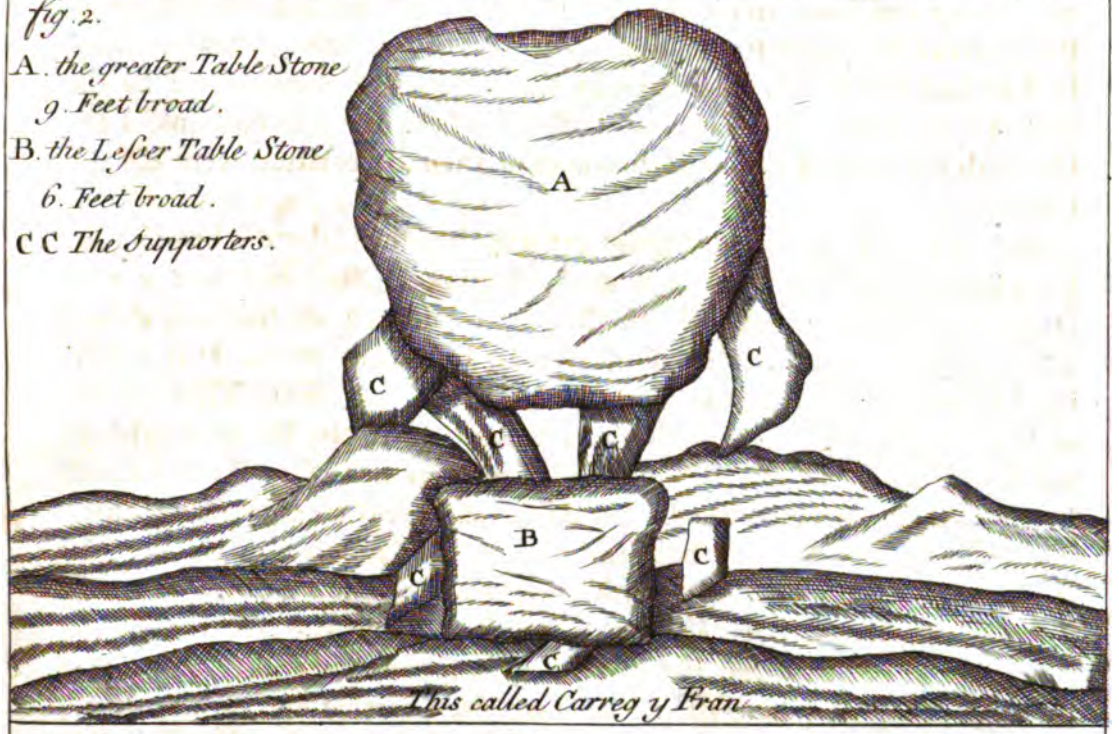
It

fig. 2.

A. the greater Table Stone
9. Feet broad.

B. the Leſser Table Stone
6. Feet broad.

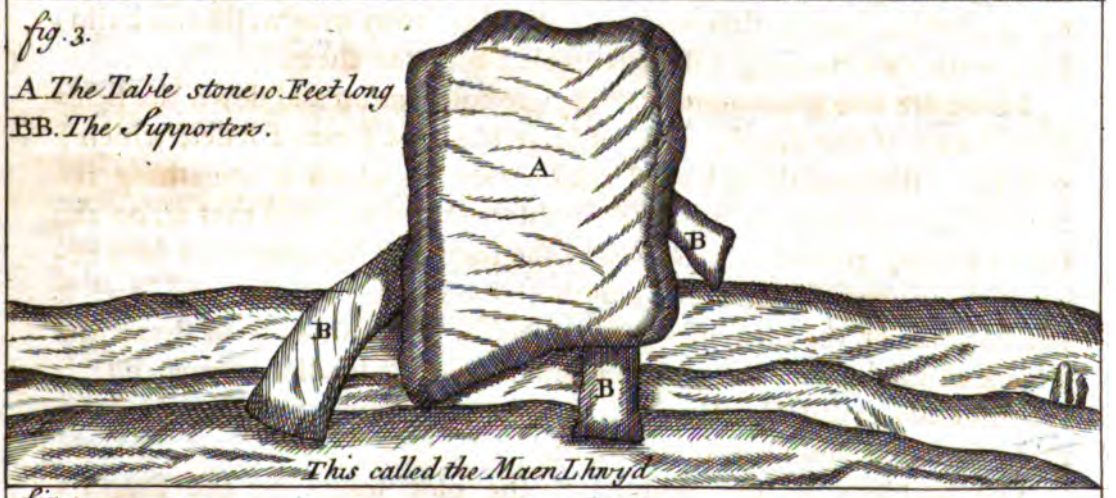
C C The Supporters.



This called Carreg y Fran

fig. 3.

A The Table stone 10 Feet long
BB. The Supporters.



This called the Maen Lhwyd

fig. 1.

It is a matter of aſtoniſhment to ſome people, how theſe mighty ſtones, ſome of them ten, twenty, or thirty ton weight, could be carried in thoſe rude times ſo great a way, and raiſed up to the height they are, either ſingly ſtanding, as our columns; or leaning upon ſupporters, as our *Cromleche*. But the wonder will ſoon vaniſh, if we conſider that wheel and pully-engines were invented in the earlieſt ages of the world; and that the uſe of the lever is as ancient as that of building. With which levers, by the helps of counterpoiſing weights at one end, and the other end fixed and placed under thoſe ſtones upon fitted fulciments, they might heave up the greateſt of them to a conſiderable height with great eaſe and ſecurity. The almoſt incredible things which antiquity performed of this ſort, have been deſervedly the wonder of ſucceeding ages; and what the right application and practice of mechanic knowledge is able to effect of this kind, may be as juſtly the wonder of this, to any who conſiders not the extent and efficacy of thoſe mechanical powers. See Biſhop Wilkins's book on that ſubject. And our anceſtors here having early communication with the Egyptians and Phœnicians, thoſe great maſters in that knowledge (witneſs the pyramids and obeliſks of the one, and the great architecture of the other) that they ſhould arrive to ſome degree of that knowledge is no hard thing to imagine. I preſume it will not be unacceptable if I ſubjoin here a mechanical demonſtration of the raiſing and erecting of ſome of our largeſt ſtone-monuments by the application and practice of thoſe powers.

The powers of the lever and inclined plane, being ſome of the firſt things underſtood by mankind in the uſe of building, it may be well conceived, that our firſt anceſtors made uſe of them. And in order to erect thoſe prodigious monuments, we may imagine they choſe where they found, or made where ſuch were not ready to their hands, ſmall *aggeres* or mounts of firm and ſolid earth, for an inclined plane, flatted and levelled at top; up the ſloping ſides of which, they might with great wooden levers upon fixed fulciments, and with ballances at the ends of them to receive into them proportionable weights and counterpoiſes, and with hands enough to guide and manage the engines; I ſay, they might that way, by little and little, heave and roll up thoſe ſtones they intended to erect, to the top of the hillock; where laying them along, they might dig holes in that earth, at the end of every ſtone intended for a column or ſupporter, the depth of which holes were to be equal to the length of the ſtones; and then (which was eaſily done)

let ſlip the ſtones into theſe holes ſtreight on end; which ſtones ſo ſunk and well cloſed about with earth, and the tops of them appearing level to the top of the mount, on which the other flat ſtones lay; it was only placing thoſe incumbent flat ſtones upon the tops of the ſupporters, duly poiſed and faſtened, and taking away the earth from between them almoſt to the bottom of the ſupporters; then there appeared what we now call *Stonehenge, Rollrick*, and our *Cromlech*; and where they lay no incumbent ſtones, our ſtanding columns and pillars. This being the eaſieſt and moſt natural way we can imagine for the erecting of them, we may probably conclude it was ſo done.

Hitherto having repreſented the ſtate and tranſactions of this iſland under the command and government of the ancient Druids, and given ſome accounts of their eſtabliſhment, authority and religion; I come now to conſider how theſe religious ſocieties came to be diſſolved and rooted out of the iſland by the conquering Romans, under whoſe ſceptre it continued ſome hundreds of years. In which time the light of the goſpel plentifully ſhined upon it; its darkneſſes and ſhades of error, together with its heatheniſh groves and barbarities, being by theſe grand inſtruments of Providence, the Romans, utterly razed out and exterminated.

Wherefore the Druidiſh government being now a breaking and approaching to its period (to aſſume the Roman part of the hiſtory of this iſland) we have not much more of recorded matter of fact to build upon, than what we have out of Cornelius Tacitus; which indeed is brief enough, but, according to the character of that writer, very pithy and comprehenſive; and may be well relied upon as an hiſtorical truth. He being himſelf, ſome while after things were tranſacting here, *Queſtor* in *Belgium*, could from thence eaſily inform himſelf of all he has ſet down in writing, by ſuch perſons as had been eye-witneſſes of the matter; which he might take up and carefully put in his notes from the relation of ſuch as he might ſee paſs by in their way to Rome, who had been upon the place, and ſeen all that he has recorded of it. And we have reaſon to think that our author had a more than ordinary eye upon the place, and took the more exact and particular account of it from ſuch relations, becauſe it added ſo much to the fame of his much admired father-in-law Julius Agricola, who completed the conqueſt of this iſland.

He tells us, that in the ſucceſſive governments of P. Oſtorius, Didius, and Veranius, Claudius's lieutenants in Britain, after the defeat of *Caractacus's*

ractacus's party, and ſending him priſoner to Rome, the *Ordovices*, or North-Wales men made frequent and buſy attempts to ſhake off the gauling yoke of a ſevere and unaccuſtomed ſubjection. And it ſeems the Iſle of Mona being near at hand, and always a place of refuge, and at that time of ſtrength and ſafety to the poor harraſſed Britons; many of the better ſort of them retreated thither with what of their effects and ſubſtance they could carry with them, to be themſelves in more ſafety, and at liberty to conſult their friends, and to determine what meaſures were to be taken to recover their loſt eſtates and poſſeſſions. Here no doubt they took care to convey what was for military uſe and ſervice, and were ever ready from hence to help their friends on occaſion with their beſt ſupplies of council and aſſiſtance. The truth of which might be that which moved the pen of the hiſtorian to call it, *Inſulam incolis* validam & perfugarum receptaculum*, viz. "the iſle of heroes, and the refuge of the diſtreſſed who fled into it."

This very thing, with the exceeding wealth of the place, we may well conceive, provoked the greedy Romans to fall on the muſes ſeat, and to uſe extraordinary efforts to ſeize and raviſh it, with the reſt of the *Ordovican* territories. At this time appears Suetonius Paulinus, governor of Britain, a man of wiſe conduct and reſolution. He plainly ſaw there was no quelling and keeping down the reſtleſs ſpirits of theſe bold and daring *Ordovices*, while this iſland, the very fountain of their life and courage, remained untouched; and therefore he haſtes to ſet things in order in the provinces, and immediately attacks theſe men with a reſolute army on the brink of the river *Menai*. While this briſk and reſolute general was getting ready a ſmall fleet of plank-boats, as Tacitus deſcribes them, to waft his infantry over; theſe cunning Druids, we may imagine, were as buſy on the other ſide in providing themſelves ſuch boats and corraghs as they then uſed, to be at hand, if neceſſity required, to carry them over to the iſle of Man or to Ireland, their next places of ſafety.

Here we muſt not think too mean of our Britiſh governors, that they turned their backs before they ſaw the face, or could diſcern the frowns

* Angleſey ſeems to have had three names given to it by antiquity; viz. *Ynys Fon*, from its ſituation; *Ynys Dowyll*, from its groves; *Ynys y Cedeirn*, from its heroes, or its powerful and celebrated prieſts and Druids. So that it is proverbial with us to this day to ſay, when any thing appears wonderful or ſingularly remarkable, *Ni bu erioed y fath beth yn ynys y Cedeirn*; viz. "Never was the like in the iſle of the heroes," which, according to Plutarch, muſt be the Iſle of Angleſey.

and menaces of the enemy. No, that would too much diſhearten the zealous multitude, who had taken their laſt ſanctuary under the powerful charms of their holy rites and invocations. That motive might prevail with theſe unwarlike leaders to ſtay a while, to try the event of things, and to ſee what the infernal powers would do in defence of their *Sacraria*, their groves, idols and altars. And therefore we may believe that they ſtood to it, and marſhalled their men in their beſt array to ſtand the brunt, while they were preparing their dreadful artillery of curſes and execrations. In this order we may conceive they came, and encamped themſelves in that place before-mentioned, to watch the enemies motion, and to make what reſiſtance they could in caſe they landed.

Here was an appearance, by what * Tacitus reports of them, able to have given a much greater ſhock to the adventuring Romans in their landing, than we find it did. But we muſt not expect them here to act as true Britons, but rather as a beſotted crew (though many of them perhaps of the prime *Ordovican* gentry) which had wholly conſigned themſelves over to the guidance and conduct of infatuated monkiſh Druids; who, it is like, made them believe, that the deities of that ſacred place, once well pacified, and engaged by repeated oblations and ſacrifices even of their beſt things and deareſt relations, would be highly concerned to ſtand by them, to protect their perſons, to fight their battles, and to exert ſomething more than human means, in defending that ſacred ground and thoſe holy things from the impure hands and polluting feet of theſe hateful miſcreants.

And therefore for ſome days, while the Roman general was fitting out his little armado, and expecting tide and ſeaſon for his ſwimming cavalry, we can expect in this Iſle of Mona nothing but loud invocations and curſes; and diſmal ſcreams of dying victims, ecchoing one another from the hollow reſounding groves: in every corner, altars ſmoaking with the horrid miſerable burnings of the bodies of men, women, and children; of rogues, profligates, and captives.——*Crepitantque preces, altaria fumant*: when preſently the Romans make to the boats, put in their foot, and ſwim their horſe at a convenient tide without the leaſt ſtop or oppoſition.

Lo here the unlucky fruit of beſotted bigotry! The Britons if well diſciplined might have bitterly annoyed the diſordered Romans at their

* Cornelius Tacitus, Annal. lib. 14.

firſt

firſt landing. But what did they do? *Stabat pro litore diverſa acies*, ſays Tacitus. Shall I render it, "They fought for the ſhore and their country?" Or rather, "They ſtood ſtill," expecting, belike, the artillery of the Druidical curſes to make greater execution on the daring aſſailants, than the ſharpeſt of their Britiſh darts and weapons. And in this indeed they were not quite out; for it was bravely acknowledged by the Romans, that the very ſight of their mad ceremony, ſtupified the Roman ſoldiers more than all the blows they received from their unſteady miſguided enemies: *Ut quaſi hærentibus membris, immobile corpus vulneribus præberent*, as the hiſtorian words it; i. e. they (meaning the Romans) ſtood alſo ſtock ſtill, and fixing their eyes on the ſurprizing ſtrangeneſs of the encounter, expoſed their bodies for ſome time to be the open unguarded mark of the enemies fury; till their active general at laſt with ſome paſſion called them on, to drive away that madded fooliſh multitude, that with vain imprecations and ſilly geſtures thought to put a ſtop to the progreſs of thoſe arms, which by good manhood and diſcipline had already conquered the greateſt part of the then known world.

Now the enraged Romans having got to land, and the conquering ſword having taken its fill of Britiſh blood, theſe giddy Druids who durſt not engage in, but ſtood without the array of battle—*Druidæque circum*, as Tacitus remarks upon them—ſeeing their ſacrifices and oblations, on which they moſt depended, prove ineffectual on theſe fearleſs Romans, nimbly ſlipt away, we may ſuppoſe, to their woods and coverts, leaving their people to be miſerably cut down and ſlaughtered by the advancing Romans; *Inferunt ſigna, ſternuntque obvios & igni ſuo involvunt*, are Tacitus's words, "who without pity or moderation hacked and hewed down on all ſides the unfortunate Britons, augmenting the flame of their unhappy ſacrifices with the fuel of their ſlain and wounded bodies."

As for the place of their landing, and of their routing this religious army, we have no exact account of it. But there are probable grounds to conclude that it was near *Porthamel*, betwixt a place called *Pwll y ſuwch* and *Llanidan*. For Tacitus ſays that the horſe *vado ſecuti*—ſwam it at the ford: And that ford or ſhallow is juſt under *Llanidan*. And it ſeems their foot landed in their flat-bottomed veſſels near the ſaid *Pwll y ſuwch*; where there is a place called *Pant yr yſcraphie* to this day; the Romans calling ſuch boats *Scaphæ*, and we from them *Yſcraphie*, with an addition of one letter, as is uſual in theſe changes.

And indeed the mount or *Tumulus* in one of the fields adjoining, about three bows ſhot from the ſea, ſeems to be the place of that great ſacrifice: whence the Druids took up firebrands in their hands, brandiſhing them like furies about the army; and where the Romans involved the taken and ſlain Britons in the devouring flames of their own ſacrifice.

Now when the prevailing Romans had reaped the fruits of conqueſt, and the retreating Druids, the heads of them who had eſcaped untaken in the flight, had ſlipped to ſea, leaving the reſt of their crew to ſculk and ſhift for themſelves; we may conceive that the Romans' next work was to demoliſh and proſtitute under their inſulting feet their moſt ſacred things and places, then devoted to moſt groſs inhuman barbarities: And when that was effected, to fix and ſettle a garriſon over the ſeparate diſtricts and townſhips of the iſland. *Præſidium impoſuit vicis*, as the hiſtorian renders it.

There are the ruins of two or three ſmall Britiſh towns, near this place of battle: one near *Bryn ſienkyn*, called *Hendre*; another on the top of *Bryn Gwydryn*, called *Caer Idris*; and the third on the top of a hill near *Porthamel* houſe, whoſe name is loſt; which in all likelihood were all then demoliſhed. In one of theſe, namely, *Caer Idris*, on the top of *Gwydryn*-hill, it is probable the Romans built a fort (it being a place of ſtrength, and conſpicuous to the whole iſland) to plant in a garriſon to ſecure themſelves and eſtabliſh their conqueſt.

Theſe conquering Romans maſtering the iſle, and ſetting ſomewhere a garriſon, as Tacitus plainly tells us, there ſeems none likelier than this; for it is a Roman work, of a half moon form, guarded by a treble wall, and defended on the back by a precipice. It ſeems to have been built on the ruins of one of thoſe Britiſh towns; for ſome of the round foundations appear yet about the ſkirts of it. It was a well fortified place and well ſituated, in the ſight of a great part of the iſland, to keep them in awe and hold them in due ſubjection and obedience. See figure 6. in plate VII.

But although it was conveniently ſituated and ſtrongly fortified at that time, yet it ſeems it did not continue long undemoliſhed by the native Britons; who, upon a ſudden turn of affairs in a ſhort time after, quitted their ſubjection and returned to their former liberty and poſſeſſions.

For Suetonius Paulinus the Roman general, before he had finiſhed the abſolute conqueſt of this iſland, and hunted out the ſculking Druids that remained from their holes and receptacles, was ſuddenly recalled to aſſiſt the Veterans and Roman garriſons at *Verulam*, *London* and

A. Length 13 Feet, Breadth 9 Feet, Thickness 3 Feet.
B. Length 6 Feet, Breadth 5 Feet, Thickness 2 ½ Feet.

Fig: 1.

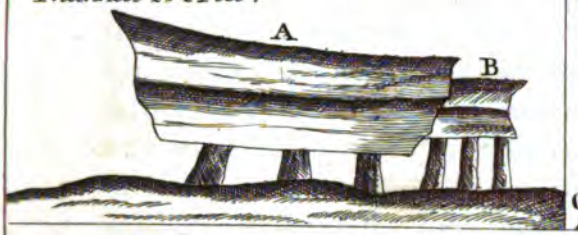
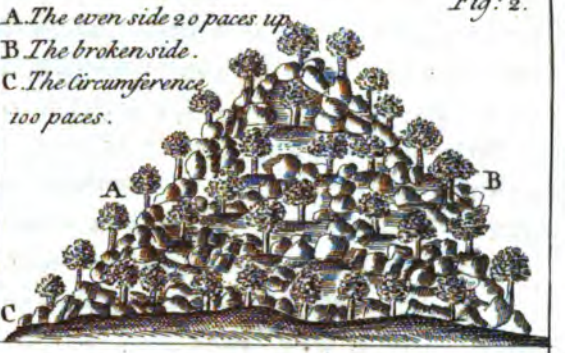


Fig: 2.

A. The even side 20 paces up.
B. The broken side.
C. The Circumference 100 paces.



A. The demolish'd Carnedd
B B. The Columns
C. The Standing Carnedd

Fig: 3.

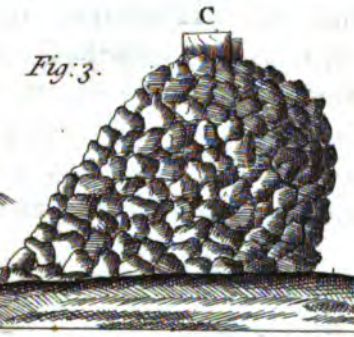


Fig: 4.

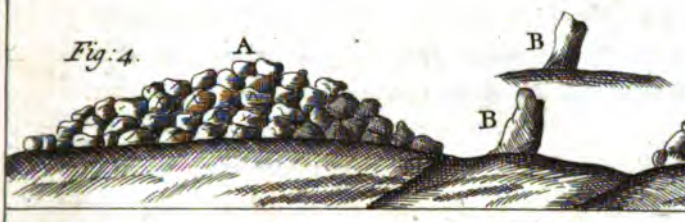
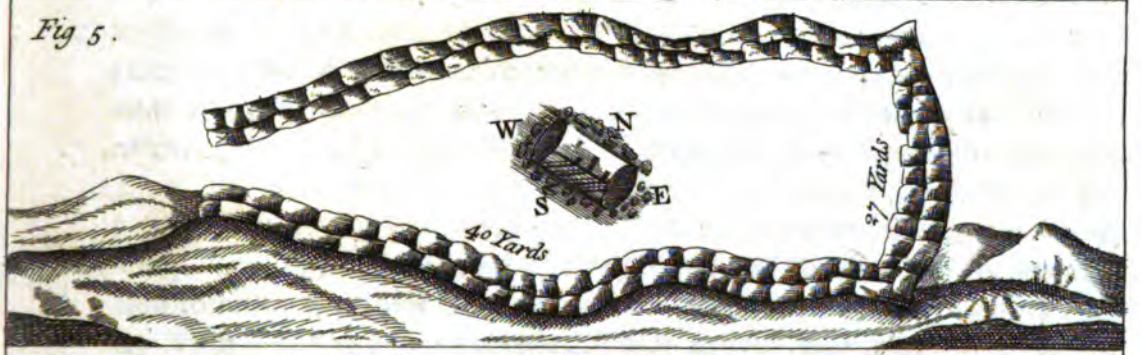


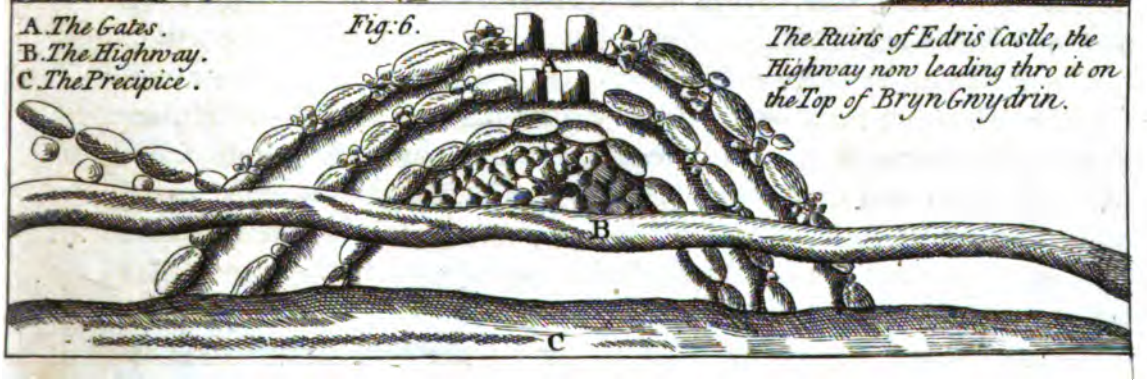
Fig 5.



A. The Gates.
B. The Highway.
C. The Precipice.

Fig: 6.

The Ruins of Edris Castle, the Highway now leading thro it on the Top of Bryn Gwydrin.



Camelodunum; who were at that time in very great and apparent danger from a general revolt of the Britons of thoſe provinces.

Now the general being thus in haſte called away, and the affairs of the iſland being yet crude and not digeſted into any ſtanding order and regularity at his quitting of it; it may now become a queſtion, whether he left any forces in his new *præſidium* to keep things in a tolerable order, till a more favourable opportunity would preſent itſelf to ſettle and complete the conqueſt. It is moſt likely he did not leave any; for the harraſſed Britons, being at laſt overcome with moſt unſupportable injuries and provoking hardſhips, made at this juncture ſtrong and violent ſhakings and convulſions in the very heart and bowels of the inland provinces, which muſt oblige this wary ſoldier to contract his whole ſtrength to ſecure the main ſtake; and therefore it is moſt probable, that he then took up every where (ſo great a ſlaughter having been made in thoſe provinces of the Veteran Romans) the few Cohorts and Legionaries he had, whom in that caſe he could only truſt, and with them made a ſpeedy march to quench the then open flame of a great and terrible rebellion.

In this interim, the Roman forces being all gone from the iſland, or if any were left, they were here as in a pound, and would be ſoon knocked on the head; the lurking Druids, upon that welcome ſunſhine after ſo terrible a ſtorm, might ſafely peep out; and forſaking their dens and coverts might come once more in view to contemplate the fate of the place, and to put their heads together to concert the beſt and fitteſt meaſures to diſpoſe and order themſelves and their affairs for the future. They ſaw every where the deplorable effects of fire and ſword. They beheld in every corner the marks of the Romans implacable hatred to them and their religion, wounding their ſouls with ghaſtly proſpects of ruins and deſolations. Their groves deſtroyed; their altars, pillars and other ſacred inſtruments and objects of their worſhip laid level with the ground; and their erected ſtructures and habitations demoliſhed and ſunk into aſhes and ruins. This muſt needs exceedingly afflict and grieve thoſe diſtreſſed people, already extremely intenerated by the diſappointments of their adored powers, to find themſelves and their ſacred places conſigned and abandoned by their gods (whom in vain they ſought to appeaſe with their profuſeſt adorations) to the rage and fury of their incenſed wrathful enemies, under whoſe laſh they had lately ſo ſeverely ſmarted.

Theſe

Theſe or the like reflections, it is natural to conceive, wrought in the minds of theſe religious people when their thoughts began to clear, and determined them to quit the iſland and get to their brethren, who had gone over before to the iſle of Man and Ireland. For although under the charms and infatuations of their ſuperſtitious religion they gave ſpecimens of very abſurd and unpolitic carriage, which muſt on that account be excuſed them; yet in other reſpects they muſt be allowed to be a ſober intelligent ſort of people. And in that circumſtance we may be ſure they could not chuſe but conſider, that although the Romans were now gone, yet they well knew the way, when their affairs were ſettled, to make them, if they ſtayed here, another viſit; for which indeed they could have no great reliſh, having been the laſt time ſo ſeverely treated by them.

They ſaw their groves cut down and deſtroyed; they conſidered that a ſhort interval of peace, if they ſhould have any, would be too little a time to replant and repair them: They were not ignorant in geography and navigation, after the mode of that time: And they well knew there were many large territories to the northward, which the Romans had never ſeen; and they were not altogether unprovided of means and ways of going thither. And therefore we may well ſuppoſe they might conclude it their beſt and wiſeſt courſe, to get themſelves over to the iſle of Man and to Ireland—being the next countries to them, and places of more ſafety and leſs ſubject to invaſion, than the place from whence they came; and where, with their fellows who had gone over there before, they might re-ſettle their Druidiſh government and juriſdiction over Ireland and the unconquered Caledonian Britains. And ſo I think it probable theſe fearful ſlippery Druids quickly left the Iſle of Mona, where they had ſo long preſided, and cunningly tranſported themſelves, and what they could carry with them, from the conquered to the unconquered *Môn* or *Manaw*.

Theſe things being ſo at that time, as we may probably think, what ſhall we then conceive of the caſe and circumſtance of this deſolated, deſerted iſland? No doubt its late Druidiſh magiſtrates, though now all gone, left yet their beſt advice and directions behind them to ſupport its peace and welfare whilſt it might enjoy them. And if on that ſudden diſſolution of its government, it will be thought to groan for ſome time under the direful effects of confuſion and anarchy, in being expoſed to the tumults of the buſy and to the luſt and rapine of every ſcrambler; yet we may think that even in that caſe, the very thoughts

of another deſcent of the enemy, which they knew not how ſoon might happen, together with that natural deſire all people have of the ſecurity and preſervation of their lives and liberty, was a ready ſuggeſtion to prompt and animate the remaining natives of the place to conſult and meditate all poſſible means to protect themſelves, and to defend their country, from the unjuſt uſurpations of thoſe lawleſs aggreſſors. They muſt have conſidered that all this in ſuch apparent danger was only to be effected by a firm reſolution of abandoning all private diſguſts and animoſities, and of maintaining among themſelves a ſtrict inviolable unanimity, peace and concord, which in all likelihood they cloſely adhered to and cultivated.

Thus in a little time, it is probable, animated by the advice and example of their neighbours, they put themſelves in a poſture to receive the enemy with a ſecond bruſh whenever they came upon them. But the Roman general, having his hands full of work with the ſouthern Britains, gave them time to repair their deſolations, and to fortify themſelves here and there after the mode and example the Romans had lately given them. The footſteps of which little works and fortifications are to this day viſible in many places along the banks of the river *Menai*. They had opportunity by what they had ſeen and wofully felt of the Roman way of fighting (their ſuperſtitious maſters being now gone) to form themſelves to more regular methods, and to train their men to that way againſt the time that occaſion ſhould call them to it.

But that was not ſoon; the Roman diſtractions encreaſing, the poor iſlanders continued free—*populus ſui juris*—perhaps a longer time than they expected. The death of Nero, the *pro-prætors* being ſuddenly and frequently changed, and the affairs of the provinces being very various and fluctuating, this iſland enjoyed ſome calm and reſpite (unleſs a few inward ſtorms interrupted it) from the middle of Nero's reign to the eighth year of Veſpaſian; which was at leaſt fifteen years. But this Veſpaſian, who had formerly himſelf ſerved in Britain, knowing better than any of the former emperors the ſtate and genius of the Britiſh people, ſent over one Julius Agricola, his *pro-prætor* or lieutenant-general, to reduce and ſettle the tumultuous wavering ſtate of the Britiſh provinces.

This Agricola, no ways inferior to any of his predeceſſors in martial abilities and conduct, wiſely conſidered, as Suetonius had done before, that the *Ordovices*, who had been all along a vexatious thorn in the Romans' ſides, and had lately cut in pieces a whole party of them, were

to

to be firſt quelled and ſubdued before any enlargement of the conqueſt could be effected, or any laſting tranquility ſettled in the provinces. And therefore though this General came not over to Britain till it was late in the ſummer, yet he quickly diſpatched affairs, and immediately transferred the whole weight of the war to the *Ordovices'* country; and marching down there, uſed the moſt brutiſh barbarities on all that came to his hands, ſparing neither age nor ſex; and as the chief end and deſign of his coming there, he ſuddenly appears with a numerous army on the ſouthern ſhore of the river *Menai*.

The ſtation he took before the Iſle of Mona was in all probability near the place called *Crîg* in *Llanvair iſcaer*; which retains, methinks, ſomething of his name. The iſlanders on the other ſide were, no doubt, extremely perplexed and ſurprized at ſo ſudden and unexpected an approach of the enemy. They had almoſt lulled their fears aſleep in that long interval, and had well nigh perſuaded themſelves, that the Roman eagle had forgot his little prey, till they ſaw him, to their great aſtoniſhment, ſpread his wings on the farther banks of the river *Menai*. And though they were not a little daunted at the ſight of ſuch an army, ſtanding at their doors; yet being ſome, as we may ſuppoſe, of the nobleſt of the *Ordovican* Britains fled thither, we may believe they wanted not a ſtock of valour, though of ſtrength and arms they did, to ſhew the ſtouteſt and moſt obſtinate reſiſtance againſt the attack of an injurious enemy.

They ſaw that the Romans that threatened to invade, were enraged againſt them, who perhaps were the men that had maſſacred and cut to pieces a party of the Romans a little before, and were now to expect avengement; and therefore they eaſily foreſaw that if the Romans landed and took by force the iſland, there were no quarters to be expected; theſe Romans uſually puniſhing what they called rebellion with ſharpeſt ſeverity, tho' uſing their conqueſts with great mildneſs and clemency. Theſe thoughts or the like might diſpoſe the Britains in the iſland, tho' otherwiſe their hearts were big and haughty enough, to propoſe, in caſe the Romans landed, terms of ſubmiſſion and obedience. Yet they might leave that to the laſt; they might truſt to their natural encloſure, their liquid fence and rampart. And beſides, obſerving that the year was pretty far advanced, and that the Romans, to make an attack, wanted boats; they might therefore conceive it would be too late e'er they could furniſh themſelves with boats and other neceſſaries, for an attack that year. And perhaps they were not out of hopes, if the

the Romans continued there a conſiderable time, that the *Ordovices* from the hills, unſeaſonable weather, or ſome other accidents would interpoſe to give the enemy a diverſion.

But the great Agricola, when he found neither boats, nor materials for them ready at hand, to carry his infantry over (as Suetonius had done) to the iſland, determined to tranſport them by another method; and being told, it ſeems, that there were places of no great depth, at low water, in that interpoſing channel, reſolved with all poſſible ſpeed to ford and ſwim it over. To that end, one may preſume that he cauſed diligent ſearch to be made of all the ſhallows and fordable places of the channel; and enquiring into the uſual way practiſed in paſſing without boats ſuch fords and ſhallows, and having been well informed of the way and manner of doing it, and apprehending it very ſuitable to his deſign and purpoſe, he committed the whole action and the management and guidance of the atchievement to a choice band of auxiliaries; *Quibus nota vada & patrius nandi uſus*, are Tacitus's words, i. e. "who were well acquainted with the fords and the country method of ſwimming."

Having ſecured the fidelity of theſe men, as it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, and having all things in readineſs, and at that time of the year, (being about the middle of September by Tacitus's account) meeting with the opportunity of very low ebbs, which are then uſual; they ſet forward the action, I conceive, by tacking together horſes, men, and arms, in a certain uſual way; they took the advantage of a moveleſs tide, fair weather, and a very low ebb, and by the help of poles, pikes and launces (perhaps bearing up the footmen where the water was deep, and guiding the motion of the horſes along the turnings of the channel) they got firm and ſolid footing on the ſhore of the iſland; which is what I can make of that account of Tacitus, *Quo ſimul ſeque & arma & equos regunt*, i. e. by which (meaning their country way of ſwimming) they managed themſelves, their horſe and armour in their paſſage; and that it was a ſwimming poſture they were to uſe there and govern themſelves in, Tacitus is expreſs, calling it *patrius nandi uſus*, the uſual ferriage and way of paſſing over ſuch fords.

The place they paſſed over muſt be where theſe ſhallows are, that is, juſt from *Llanvair*-point on *Caernarvonſhire*-ſide to a little ſouth-weſt of *Llanidan*-church on the other ſide, where the water now at loweſt ebbs is not above a fathom or two deep where it is deepeſt. And

when the ſands, which remove to and fro with the winds and tides, bank and lodge at the edge of a rock, which croſſes the channel in that place, as now ſometimes they do, and probably did ſo at that time, it is except in few places fordable without much difficulty. And I have been credibly informed it was about forty years ago ſo ſhallow there at ſome ebbs, that very ſmall boats for ſome while ſtuck a-ground in paſſing along the channel; and that two men approached ſo near on each ſide, that they came within a pole's length to one another.

At this place, and in this manner, I preſume the induſtrious General, as Tacitus ſays, *Repentè immiſit*, ſuddenly diſpatched his horſe and foot over upon the aſtoniſhed yielding Britons; who it ſeems expected nothing leſs, than to ſee the Romans all of a ſudden firſt conquer their ſea, and then enſlave their country. *Obſtupefacti hoſtes qui claſſem, qui naves, qui mare expectabant*, i. e. "The affrighted Britons, who expected a fleet of boats to attack them," as they found Suetonius before to have done, "were half dead with terror and amazement, to ſee them ſtem their liquid fence and channel in that manner; and they immediately concluded," ſays my author, *Nihil arduum & invictum ſic ad bellum venientibus*, "That nothing could be too hard and impracticable to thoſe who entered battle in that manner;" and therefore without more ado petitioned for peace, and yielded up the iſland.

Here it may appear ſomewhat plain, that the Druids, at leaſt the chief of them, were all gone; no appearance of them, no uncouth ceremony, no amazing ſcene of invocations and odd geſtures (which at the firſt taking of the iſland by Suetonius Paulinus took ſo much of the ſoldier's eye and of the hiſtorian's pen) now at all preſenting themſelves. For undoubtedly if the Druids, the common incendiaries of the people at that time againſt the Romans' religion and government, had been then in the iſland, they would have here ſhewed themſelves—*pro aris & focis*—doing ſomething remarkable in the defence of them. For it may be very probably ſuppoſed, that the quarrel was moſtly againſt the Druids; who if they had been here, it cannot well be imagined, the hiſtorian would have omitted the mention of them—they being ſo principal a part and character of the action he records. Neither is it alſo to be thought, that the iſlanders would have ſo tamely petitioned for peace and ſo eaſily obtained it, if theſe men (the objects of the Romans' implacable indignation and hatred) had been then among them; who being

ing now gone probably bore the blame of all that was paſt, and the iſland returned to its former ſubjection and obedience.

Now the Romans having got once more poſſeſſion of this iſland, we may reaſonably gueſs they took all effectual means to rivet their conqueſt, and irreverſibly faſten it, with the whole *Ordovican* territory, to the weſtern province. The Roman General now, in all likelihood, traverſed and viewed the country, and perhaps left ſome monument of his name, at or near the furtheſt weſtern point of it, called * *Griccill*, as the Britons probably called him, i. e. Agricola; and eſtabliſhed garriſons in two ſeparate places of the iſland, viz. at the two *Caſtelliors*—*Dominorum caſtra*—as the name imports; *Caſtell* originally importing a Roman *Fort*, and *Ior* being the ancient Britiſh word for *Lord* or *Governor*; the one part of the name being Roman and the other Britiſh, gives me grounds to gueſs that they were his firſt preſidiary garriſons, the one being near *Griccill*, that bears ſome umbrage of his name. And to confirm my conjecture, there is not far off there a place called *Bodior*, i. e. the Governor's Habitation; and another called *Preſeddfod*, or *Preſaddfed*, *Præſidii Locus*, the Preſident's Habitation; and the other place was, I take it, in the other end of the country, near *Porthaethwy*, in the pariſh of *Llanſadwrn*, called *Caſtellior*, where do yet appear the marks of an ancient fortreſs; and whether there be the like at the other *Caſtellior* I cannot ſay, having never been upon the place. Both theſe *Caſtelliors* may be conceived, as being at two ends and territories of the country, to have ſerved very conveniently to over-awe the ſeveral *Bâds* and townſhips of the iſland, and to enure their necks to continue ſtedfaſt for the future under the yoke and ſubjection of the Roman authority and government.

Thus the poor, and late famous Iſle of Mona—*incolis valida*—never before that we hear of conquered by an enemy, was fain to put on the Roman ſhackles; under which it continued to groan ſome hundreds of years. But yet in this to be comforted, if there be any comfort in the loſs of liberty, that ſhe had her fetters put on by the two greateſt Romans, next Julius Cæſar, that had ever trod on Britiſh ground; the former of them, viz. that Suetonius Paulinus who well deſerved, and went once well nigh (if we believe Tacitus) to be choſen emperor; and the

* Near that place is *Rhos Colyn* or *Coloſn*: The Romans uſually erecting columns at the utmoſt bounds of their victories, as Dion. Caſſius relates.

latter, viz. this Julius Agricola appeared ſo brave in all his actions, that he was equally feared and envyed by Domitian; as if his laurels had ſpread and mounted ſo high, as to caſt an umbrage on Cæſar's diadem.

In this condition I muſt now leave this poor iſland, when thoſe grand inſtruments of Providence, the Romans, having now chaſed away her ſuperſtitious Druids, and unmaſked her face of her ancient ſhades of heatheniſm, made thereby a happy undeſigned way for the light of the goſpel to ſhine upon it; and by ſubjugating the bodies, lives and fortunes of the Britons to Cæſar's ſceptre, gave them an opportunity, which was ſhortly after taken, of bringing their ſouls to the obedience of Chriſt.

Now to add a few words of theſe Druids, before I conclude this ſection. If it be demanded, what became of them, of their orders and ſocieties, when they were obliged to withdraw from the Iſle of Mona? I anſwer, It may be well ſuppoſed, that having quitted this place where they ſo long prefided, on account of the eager perſecutions of the inſulting Romans, theſe religious orders fixed and eſtabliſhed themſelves in ſome other place unconquered by the Romans, which muſt be Ireland, the north of Scotland, and the Scottiſh Iſles; yet ſo, as that their chief ſeat and reſidence was in the Iſle of Man, as the Scottiſh authors unanimouſly affirm: From whence, as before from the Iſle of Mona, they extended their authority and exerciſed their juriſdiction over ſuch of thoſe Britons as would and could yield it ſubmiſſion and obedience. That they did withdraw themſelves to ſome places out of the Romans' reach (and where could they in haſte but to the places now mentioned?) is very plain from Strabo, an author of that time; who affirms, that the Romans endeavoured with might and main to chaſe away, and cruſh the religion of theſe ſuperſtitious Druids, but could not; they having cunningly ſlipped away and eſcaped their fury.

Now that this is no groundleſs opinion, but that it is ſo far true, that for many years after this time, thoſe religious Druids and their orders were numerous in Ireland and Scotland, is apparent from many Iriſh and Scottiſh authors. Firſt, in Ireland, their religion was in mighty vogue among the people, and their three mentioned orders were called Druids, Sanachies, and Bards. They were ſo numerous there in the days of St. Patrick, that it is ſaid by their hiſtorians that he burnt three

three hundred of their books. * Mr. Roderick Flaherty ſays the Druids made one of the three orders of the kingdom, and were ſignalized with a mark of honour on their garments, next that of kings and princes †. Nay farther, for more certainty in this matter, that they had been very numerous and common in that kingdom, the name of Druid is there ſtill applied to a cunning fellow or wizard, whom they call in the Iriſh tongue *Draoi* or Druid. And it is as certain that O-Donnel in his tranſlation of the New Teſtament into Iriſh, calls the wiſe men of the Eaſt, Matth. ii. 1. *Draoithe*, i. e. Druids; by which it appears that the Druids, before the Chriſtian religion gave them another remove, were eſtabliſhed, and of great authority in Ireland.

I own indeed that the Iriſh, even from remoteſt antiquity, had a ſet of Druids among them, planted there with ſome of the firſt Britiſh colonies; but by the accounts which the Iriſh antiquaries give us of them, they differed in many particulars relating to power and juriſdiction, and the uſe of writing, from the Gauliſh and Britiſh Druids. Whether the Mileſian colony which greatly prevailed in that kingdom, altered their primitive inſtitution, or whatever elſe it was that wrought that change, I cannot ſay. However, their agreement in many things with our Britiſh Druids, and the very name of them, was encouragement enough to many of thoſe who were expelled by the Romans from the Iſle of Mona, to reſort thither, and perhaps to incorporate with them; the Iriſh Druids by the bounty of their princes being then plentifully provided with lands and revenues, whereby they were well enabled to give theſe their old friends and new gueſts, a reception ſuitable to their caſe and circumſtance, and what in their diſtreſs and calamity they moſt wanted, that is, ſubſiſtence and ſecurity.

So likewiſe in Scotland and in the iſle of Man, Hector Boetius hath given large deſcriptions of the government and orders of theſe Druids, which many Scottiſh authors followed. The main of what he ſays, I ſhall deliver in the words of the reverend and learned biſhop Spotſwood, in his Hiſtory of the Church of Scotland. "Cratylinth, ſays he, king of Scotland, coming to the crown in the year 277, made it one of his firſt works to purge the kingdom of heatheniſh ſuperſtition, and to expel the Druids, a ſort of people held in thoſe days in great reputation. —They ruled their affairs very politicly; for being governed by a preſident who kept his reſidence in the iſle of Man, which then was under

* Ogygia, p. 58. † Matthew Kennedy, p. 19.

the

the dominion of the Scots, they did once every year meet in that place, to take counſel together for the ordering of affairs; and carried things ſo politicly and with ſuch diſcretion, that Cratylinth found it difficult enough to expel them, becauſe of the favour they had amongſt the people.—In this Iſle king Cratylinth, after the expulſion of the Druids, erected a ſtately church to the honour of our Saviour, and called it *Sodorenſe Fanum*, i. e. our Saviour's Church." So far he. Mr. Martin alſo in his late book of the Weſtern iſles of Scotland, very much confirms this opinion, both by tradition and monuments, and by ſeveral cuſtoms in thoſe iſles, ſtill ſavouring of Druidiſh rites and practices; and produces variety of inſtances betokening their being and reſiding in ancient times in thoſe iſlands.

I cannot but obſerve here, that the Iriſh Druids had a form of letters very ſingular, which they uſed, as their antiquaries ſay, before the preſent ones: The alphabet whereof they called *Beth-luis-nion*, from the firſt three letters of it, *B*, *L*, *N*; in which every letter, to the number of twenty-ſix, was called by the name of ſome tree in the wood, very agreeable to the mode and profeſſion of that ſort of men, ſo much converſant with groves and woods as the Druids were; and the letters or characters they called *Feadda*, which with them ſignifies *Wood*, and the writing *Ogum*, of which they ſay they have many remains ſtill extant among them. An occult and myſterious way of writing it was, peculiar to theſe Druids, by certain rods or virgular characters, and other marks and ſigns for ſyllables and whole words, diſtinct from the ordinary known letters, which required a particular ſtudy, ſo that the vulgar could not at all underſtand it. Mr. Roderick Flaherty, from the book of Lecan, explains the whole ſet of them. And whether our *Ogwyddor* or *Egwyddor*, i. e. *Alphabet*, perhaps compounded from *Ogum* and *Wydd*, which is *Wood*, the ſame with their *Feadda*, the other word *Ogum* being loſt in our Britiſh tongue, may have any relation to this Iriſh form, I will not pretend to ſay. Or whether the *Ira letur*, *Irlandorum literæ*, mentioned by Arngrim Jonas, in his Runick alphabets, be the ſame with this *Beth-luis-nion*, having not ſeen them, I want information. However that be, we are pretty ſure that the Gauliſh Druids uſed in their private affairs the Greek letters, for Cæſar expreſly ſays ſo; which Greek letters, it is not unlikely, might in time and among our people degenerate into what we call the Iriſh or Saxon letters.

To conclude this whole matter. All I have ſaid of theſe Druids, from firſt to laſt, will, I preſume, fairly reſolve itſelf into theſe three parti-

particulars. First, that theſe Druids had their chief ſeat and reſidence ſomewhere in Britain, of which Cæſar is a potent witneſs. Secondly, that this ſeat or principal reſidence was in the Iſle of Mona or Angleſey, Tacitus and a ſtrong tradition do fairly intimate. Thirdly, that after their expulſion by the Romans, they ſpread and eſtabliſhed their hierarchy in the iſle of Man, Scotland, and the Scottiſh iſles, the Scottiſh authors unanimouſly agree, and amply confirm. And, laſtly, that their removal out of the Iſle of Angleſey to the Iſle of Man was between the two deſcents of Suetonius and Agricola on this iſland. This laſt I gather chiefly out of the before cited paſſage of Tacitus in the life of Agricola; where the hiſtorian does not mention one ſyllable of theſe Druids, who when they were here, as in the other paſſage of Suetonius Paulinus, took ſo much pains in deſcribing them. And though I am as cautious as any other in laying too much ſtreſs on a negative argument; yet I muſt confeſs, conſidering the punctuality of that hiſtorian's writing—never omitting principal characters, which undoubtedly thoſe perſonages would have been, if they had been here—his ſaying nothing of them, is as much with me, as if he had ſaid in expreſs terms, that they had withdrawn, or were driven away by the Romans. Eſpecially ſince I find it ſo taken by the learned biſhop * Stillingfleet; who obſerves that the Arch-Flamens and Flamens in Britain under the Roman government, could be no part, as was generally believed, of the Druidiſh hierarchy; they being before gone, and their ways and methods mortally hated by the Romans: But rather as that learned and worthy prelate ſtrongly proves, the Flamens and Arch-Flamens were a later invention of pagan Romans here, calculated by them after the form and model of our primitive church government, which they ſeemed for ſome reaſons to have affected.

But to purſue our expulſed religious countrymen one remove further. When Chriſtianity made a cloſer purſuit of them than the Roman ſword was able to do—captivated ſome to the laws of Chriſt, and put the reſt on a ſecond voyage, to find once more a place of reſt and ſafety, to lay down one other new foundation of their ancient plat-form—I know not where to find them, unleſs it be in the Schaldry of Iceland, and their dependant claſſes and orders of old in the territories of Norway, Denmark, and other Northern countries. Theſe not only in name, in which there is ſome congruity, *iſſel-dry*, the "lower or northern Druids"

* Orig. Brit. p. 79.

perhaps;

perhaps; but alſo in their * *Ira letur* and in their *Edda Iſlandorum*, as they call it, i. e. the poetical memoirs of their bards; and eſpecially in their extant remains and monuments of antiquity, which have a very conſiderable affinity and coherence with what I have already deſcribed of our remains and monuments of Druidiſm. They have their *Cromleche* like ours: There is a temple in Kialerneſs in Iceland, not much unlike ours at *Bryn Gwyn*: Their erected altars, pillars, mounts, and burying-places, and ours, are much of a ſort. And whoever would be more informed in theſe particular inſtances and parallels, may conſult the books of Olaus Wormius and Tho. Bartholine, of the Daniſh antiquities, and he will find ſufficient ſatisfaction on that head.

Let not the mention of theſe Daniſh and Icelandiſh inſtances invert the tenor of my argument, and turn the force of it againſt what I before affirmed in this matter; that is, give grounds to object, that if our monuments and theirs be ſo exactly alike, that it may then be as probable, that the Danes erected them when they lorded over us; and conſequently that they are rather the marks of *their* religion and cuſtoms, than the remains of Druidiſm, which is indeed the opinion of ſome obſervers of late.

But in anſwer to this, I ſhall offer it to be conſidered, Firſt, how very probable it is, that theſe Druids, who were expelled by the Chriſtians from Ireland and Scotland, ſhould repair to ſome of theſe northern countries, and there propagate their cuſtoms and forms of worſhip among theſe ruder heathens. For where ſhould they go but thither? What other reaſon can be given of the congruity of many placits of the Runick religion with thoſe recorded of Druidiſm, than that they had them originally from the Britiſh iſles? None can doubt of the facility of their paſſage thither, who conſiders how the northern nations of old abounded with boats † and rovers. And this being granted, it will eaſily follow, that the rites or cuſtoms which thoſe heathen Danes and Saxons brought hither of that kind, were but what their fore-fathers had be-

* The ancient inhabitants of theſe northern countries called one of their Runic alphabets, *Ira letur*, viz. Iriſh letters, as if they had had them from Ireland, whence our Druids were laſt expelled.

† It is not unlikely but that the Britons, with other northern nations, being ſtrengthened and driven by the Romans into Iceland, and other iſles of the North, might then paſs over in theſe boats from thoſe iſles into Greenland, and thence into North America, and ſo people that continent, it being but a ſhort cut over from Iceland to that continent, not above two or three days ſail; and Mr. Joſeph Mede, in one of his letters to Dr. Twiſs, gives reaſons of the probability of the peopling of America about this time, and in this manner.

fore

fore taken from hence—a little mixed indeed, and metamorphoſed in another dreſs. And then no wonder they erected here rings or coronets of pitched ſtones, for their public inaugurations; or rather applied thoſe old ones they found here to that uſe and purpoſe. Might not *Stonehenge* and *Roll-rick* coronets be very well the relics of ancient Druidiſm, and yet fall in ſuitably enough with the uſe and performance of Daniſh conſecrations? And after ages might well be ſuppoſed to miſtake that ſecond edition of their original uſes for the firſt publication of them.

SECONDLY, in England there may be, I confeſs, ſome colour for aſcribing thoſe remains of antiquity to the Daniſh conſecrations and cuſtoms. But in Wales, in the midſt of ſome of the mountains of it, where not a few of theſe monuments are, and where it is not likely the Danes ever were, Who can reaſonably attribute thoſe erections to them? That elliptical ring or coronet of pitched ſtones between two great mountains near *Ceſail Gyfarch* in Caernarvonſhire—in number forty-two—is as likely to have been ſet up by the Danes, as are the pillars of Tadmor, or the pyramids of Egypt.

THIRDLY, let any one conſider alſo what hath been before inſtanced of the undeniable analogy, and agreeableneſs of the ancient Britiſh names of ſome of our monuments, with what is recorded of the rites and uſages of the Druids, in authors of much ancientier date than the time of the Daniſh depredations. *Cromlech*, *Cærem-luach*, and *Bryn Gwyn*, *Brein Gwyn*, are words of more ancient compoſition, than is conſiſtent with the notion, that the parts of them were fetched from Syria, and here fodered together to expreſs a late Daniſh barbarity.

But particularly let this very Iſle of Mona be a convincing inſtance of the improbability of that opinion which would aſcribe many of theſe erections and monuments to the Daniſh cuſtoms. The groves in it ſtill retain their old Britiſh names; and alſo the many places before-mentioned betoken the diſtinct names and orders of the Druids, agreeable enough to the relations given of them by Strabo, Cæſar, Tacitus, and others. And together with thoſe groves and precincts, we have multitudes of monuments in thoſe very places which bear the names of thoſe ſocieties and orders. Theſe places ſo named, and theſe monuments co-exiſting and bearing mutual relation to one another, as every one that knows them will grant they do, On what grounds can any man pretend to aſcribe ſome parts and appurtenances of theſe places to Daniciſm, and not the reſt? For if thoſe groves and thoſe places, in which theſe monuments are erected, and which evidently bear the

names of all the orders of that ancient ſect, be Druidical, as thoſe names do greatly import they are; then it will follow by a very reaſonable conſequence, that thoſe monuments are ſo too: And at the ſame time evince the improbability, not to ſay more, of that opinion, which would aſcribe them to a Daniſh original. I find now what I have offered in this particular very much confirmed by the late author of the Hiſtory of the Weſtern Iſles of Scotland, who avouches names and traditions in many of the Scottiſh iſles, expreſly agreeing with what I have here conjectured; where many circular ranges of erected ſtones are to this day by the common people called *Druin-Crunney*, the Druids Circles, and generally believed to be their temples; and ſeveral antient rites and cuſtoms conformable to their uſages and practices before-mentioned, he there lays down, as undoubted matter of fact, and generally believed ſo; to whoſe book, for more ſatisfaction in this affair, I recommend and refer the reader.

SECTION X.

Of the diviſions and ſub-diviſions of the Iſle of Angleſey; *and of the laws and cuſtoms of it, at the latter time of the Britiſh princes.*

ANGLESEY is, and has been of very ancient time divided principally into three *Cantrefs*, and each of theſe into two *Comots*; viz. *Cantref Rhoſſir*, *Cantref Aberffraw*, and *Cantref Cemaes*. The firſt contains *Menai* and *Tindaethwy*: The ſecond, *Malldraeth* and *Lliſon*: And the third, *Twrcelyn* and *Talybolion*.

I ſhall, Firſt, begin with the etymology of the names of theſe diviſions. Secondly, I ſhall account for the antiquity, uſe and application of them to the ancient Britiſh adminiſtration and government. And, Thirdly, for the quality and condition of thoſe ſub-diviſions of *Tref's*, *Rhandir's* and *Gafel's*.

As to their names; Firſt, *Cantref Rhoſſir* is variouſly denominated. Some would call it *Rhôs-fair*, from a little church ſo dedicated, which ſtands near the head of the manor; and ſome call it *Rhôſ-Aur* or *Rhôſ-ſfair*, from a *Rhôs* near it, where it is ſaid the *fair* was anciently kept: But to me it ſeems more probable that the true name was *Rhôs-hîr*, more anciently than any of the fore-mentioned names, proceeding from the natural propriety of the place, as original names generally did; that long *Dorſum* or ridge of land, running from *Newborough* to *Mynydd Llwydiart*,

Llwydiart, ten miles in length, being on the top of it all heath or *Rhôs tîr*; and when the country was generally woody, might be then all one bleak and barren *Rhôs* or heath, of that length; and this heath running through the two *Comots*, was probably called *Rhôs-hîr*, and thence gave name to the whole territory or *Cantref*. The two *Comots* contained under this *Cantref*, are *Tindaethwy* and *Menai*; of the former I have before accounted, and of the latter I shall give some account in the last section.

The second *Cantref* is called the *Cantref* of *Aberffraw*, and was so called from the *Ostium* or entrance into the sea of a small brook of that name, and called *Aberffraw*; where the latter princes of North Wales chose their principal residence; and has under it the *Comots* of *Malltraeth* and *Llifon*. The *Comot* of *Malldraeth* is undoubtedly so called from the formerly quaggy and very dangerous sands bordering upon it; but the *Comot* of *Llifon* has its name derived from a more obscure origin. I find it written in some ancient records *Llewon*, and am apt to think it was given at first to this territory, because it was the most western part of the island; the West being called in the ancient British, *Gorllewon*, or *Gorllewin*, as it is to this day.

The third *Cantref* is called *Cantref Gemmaes*, I take it, from *Cefnfaes*, i. e. ridged or arable land; and the part of that *Cantref*, particularly called by that name, is the best corn-land in the whole country; and many other little territories in Wales, excelling in bearing corn, are called by the name of *Gemmaises*. This *Cantref* has under it the *Comots* of *Twrcelyn* and *Talybolion*.

The *Comot* of *Twrcelyn*, I have observed in ancient manuscripts to be called *Tir Cybelyn*; which yet may not perhaps be its first and most ancient name, because not betokening (as the ancientest names generally did) any natural or local propriety, but the possessions of one *Cybelyn*, who was probably lord of those lands. And some think that *Talybolion*, the other division of it, had some reference in the sound of the word, to Suetonius Paulinus, who first conquered this island, and brought it to the Roman subjection; it being very probable that the Britons called this Paulinus, *Pol-lion*; as is observed by Mr. Edward Lhwyd, of a place called *Pant y Polion*, near which he took up the inscription of one Paulinus, who probably was slain or buried at that place. And though it must be confessed, that *Tâl* in the old British properly imports a region or territory, and this Suetonius Paulinus, or in the language of the Britons, *Polion*, having signalized his name in this

iſland, might very well have appropriated to himſelf the poſſeſſion of ſome part of it; and thereby have given occaſion to its being called ever after, *Regio Paulini*, i. e. *Tal-Polion*; yet that great perſon having had no long time here to enjoy the fruits of his conqueſt, and the place being too inconſiderable for ſo great a man, I am rather inclined to believe, that as certain territories in Cumberland are called Cope-land, *ab acuminatis collibus*, as Mr. Camden obſerves, ſo this name might be derived from the many bleak and coped hills which are in that territory called *Moelion* or *Moelydd*; of which one or two retain the appellation of * *Moel* to this day. On which account I think it probable (ſuch bare-topt hills being called *Moelion*) that therefore this *Comot* abounding with thoſe hillocks might then be called *Tal y Moelion*; and conſequently that (the letters *M* and *B* being of one organ, eaſily convertible one to another, and promiſcuouſly pronounced in our tongue) it might ſo come to paſs in tract of time, that *Tal y Moelion* came to be called *Tal y Bolion*; as *Moel y don* is now commonly pronounced *Bul y don*. And for further confirmation of it, we have one bleak hill in this country called *y Foel*, and the territory adjoining it, is called *Tal y Foel* to this day.

Now as theſe *Cantrefs* are divided into ſix *Comots*, ſo theſe *Comots* contain each of them about ſixty *Trefs* or townſhips; which were alſo divided towards the latter end of the Britiſh government, into about five thouſand tenures, i. e. *Gafel's*, *Wele's* and *Rhandir's*.

Secondly, As to the antiquity, uſe and application of theſe diviſions; it cannot be denied but that the general partition of Wales, and conſequently of the Iſle of Angleſey, into *Cantrefs* and *Comots* is very ancient. And if that reading in Tacitus—*Præſidium impoſuit vicis*—be the right one, and means our *Trefs* or townſhips; I can ſcarce forbear concluding our *Cantrefs* or hundreds (they being but numeral denominations of our *Trefs* and townſhips) to have been in uſe among the aboriginal Britons, long before the coming of the Romans into theſe countries.

For though that ſorting and ranging of *Trefs* and townſhips into hundreds and *Cantrefs* may ſeem with ſome probability to owe its origin to the Roman model, as being but a copy or imitation of their ancient claſſical diſtributions into tribes and centuries; yet on the other

* It ſeems that the land here was all woody, when they called and diſtinguiſhed ſome eminences that had no wood upon them by the name of *Moel*; i. e. bald-tops or hillocks.

ſide,

ſide, who knows but the *Auſonii* and *Hetruſchi*, the anceſtors of the Romans, did rather derive and borrow that mode and platform of dividing their land from our anceſtors the *Celtæ*; and that their *Tribus* and *Centuriæ* are the ſame with our *Trefs* and *Cantrefs*. And I dare appeal to any critick in thoſe antiquities to judge, if the Latin *Tribus*, both in ſound and ſignification anſwering our *Tref* (*B* and *V* or *F* being labials of promiſcuous uſe in our ancient words) can in its own, or any other language fix on ſo proper and agreeable a derivation, as from the *Celtiſh* or *Gauliſh Tir-ef* or *Tref*. But however that be, we may juſtly conclude, that thoſe were reckoned and called ſo, before the Romans had any thing to do with our conſtitution and government; and that principally on theſe reaſons.—

FIRST, Becauſe it is in itſelf a very natural and juſt diſtribution, for ſo many leſſer houſholds to make one *Tref*, and ſo many *Trefs* to make up one ſeparate and diſtinct diviſion or *Cantref*. And as this is a moſt fit and accommodate proportion, for a plebeian adminiſtration, ſo it may be concluded to be very ancient, if not to have been the very firſt and original conſtitution amongſt us. Secondly, we find the ancient Iriſh, who were branches of our Britiſh origin, and among whom the Roman power never prevailed, to have had the ſame ſort of diviſion of their country as we have, i. e. into *Cantrefs* and *Carrachts*. Thirdly, we meet with ſome paſſages in Cæſar and Tacitus, which give accounts of ſuch centurial diviſions among the Gauls and Germans, before ever the Romans got footing in any part of their country; and therefore what our next neighbours, eſpecially the Gauls, uſed of this ſort, may be juſtly preſumed to have been practiſed alſo, among the ancient Britons. And, Fourthly, it is ſufficiently known that the Roman policy very ſeldom or never attempted the alteration of the original and ancient forms and uſages of their conquered provinces, except where great provocations made them root out the natives and eſtabliſh colonies of their own. Which alteration of our moſt ancient laws and cuſtoms having not, by any thing that appears, been ever enforced by the prevailing Romans in this Iſle of Mona; one may very well conclude that our diviſions of *Cantrefs* and *Comots*, are of a much older date, than the Roman government. And altho' this diſtribution of lands into *Cantrefs* and *Comots* may be of much ancienter date, than that of the Roman or perhaps of the Druidical government; yet it is probable, the victorious Romans made uſe of it, not only in their civil and martial adminiſtration, as it is made uſe of to this day, but alſo in their diſtinguiſhing of

feudal

feudal rights and proprieties; as it continued to be uſed after the Romans forſook us, thro' the whole time of the Britiſh government.

Now to conceive rightly the nature and uſe of theſe diviſions, and the parts of them, we are to obſerve, that as *Cantref* or hundred in the right notion of the word, betokens an aſſociated union and confederation of as many *Trefs* or townſhips as the word imports; ſo for a more regular diſpatch of affairs and conveniency of aſſembling together, theſe *Cantrefs* are each of them ſub-divided into two or more *Comots*: And theſe *Comots*, as they are themſelves but parts and diviſions of the ſaid *Cantrefs*, are commonly (but very improperly) called hundreds, as the hundred of *Menai*, the hundred of *Malldraeth*. Yet as they conſiſt of ſo many *Trefs*, *Bôds* and townſhips, as are comprehended within one common precinct, ſo have they held from very ancient time, as ſo many petty-lordſhips, their ſeparate courts and juriſdictions: And as ſuch, they may be well ſaid to have been the preſervers and conveyers down of our moſt ancient uſages to this day; and to be the very channels wherein the many ſtreams of our national cuſtoms were thro' a long tract of time carried to us from their original fountains; and which now, ſince the union of the Engliſh and Britiſh governments, have met together and united into one body of our common and municipal laws.

And theſe ancient laws and uſages of ours thus conveyed to us, having in their frame and compoſition ſo little affinity with the Roman law, and having alſo in the adminiſtration and execution of them, ſo neceſſary a dependance upon, and connection with theſe centurial precincts and diviſions, may ſeem to give good warrant to conclude, that theſe ancient laws and cuſtoms ſo conveyed down, as well as theſe little precincts and hundreds in which they were conveyed, were long before the Roman government among us; and ſo continued without much alteration, till they came to be ſwallowed up and incorporated into the Engliſh laws and government.

But as to the poſſeſſionary part of theſe ancient diviſions; as they were originally in themſelves ſeparate precincts and juriſdictions; ſo under the Roman adminiſtration they might become very uſeful and accommodate proportions and dividends, to be as the government thought fit, diſpoſed into ſeveral feudatory rights and poſſeſſions. And ſuch indeed we find them to have been, that is, the inheritances of princes and nobles during the continuance of the Britiſh government; as is obvious to any one, who is acquainted with the tranſactions of the Britiſh hiſtory.

Thus

Thus the victorious ſons of *Cunedda Wledig*, a *Cumbrian* prince, came to be poſſeſſed of ſeveral *Cantrefs* in Wales, and left their names on them to this day; which undoubtedly were theſe mentioned ſeparate precincts before, and called afterwards by other names. Thus Roderick the Great divided all Wales by a diſtribution of theſe *Cantrefs*, into three provinces, viz. *Gwynedd*, *Debeubarth* and *Powys*, and diſpoſed of them to his three ſons. And we may reaſonably preſume that the late Britiſh princes have thus created their nobles, by giving them the feudal poſſeſſions of *Cantrefs* and *Comots* with their juriſdictions and powers, on terms of homage and ſubjection.

THIRDLY, To underſtand the quality and condition of theſe ancient diviſions in the Britiſh ſtate and government, it will be neceſſary to lay down a ſummary repreſentation of the ſundry ſorts and different proprieties of theſe *Trefs* and *Villa's*, of which the *Cantrefs* conſiſt; that is, to ſee on what terms of ſubjection and dependance on their immediate lords and princes, theſe particular tenures were eſtabliſhed; and how they were diſpoſed and managed to the ſupport and ſafety of the Britiſh government. Which being well ſeen into and conſidered, may give us ſome glimmering light into the form and model of our ancient Britiſh adminiſtration.

Now here it muſt be confeſſed, that in the long ſpace of ſome hundreds of years, ſince the diſſolution of the Britiſh government, our nation being inexcuſably remiſs and incurious for the information of poſterity, the memory of the true ſtate and condition of that government, eſpecially of the more popular part of it which relates to theſe mentioned diviſions, might for us have been utterly loſt and periſhed.

But as a juſt reproach to our wretched oſcitancy and remiſſneſs, what our own careleſs neglect omitted, the covetouſneſs of our more watchful conquerors took care to record and preſerve for us; that is, the Engliſh monarchs when they got themſelves ſeized of the laſt remains of our Britiſh royalties, and found or made themſelves intitled or intereſſed by deſcent or conqueſt, to the ancient revenues of our Britiſh princes; theſe Engliſh monarchs, I ſay, as well to inform themſelves of the ſtate of thoſe revenues, as to ſecure the utmoſt benefit of their conqueſt, judged it adviſeable then to iſſue out commiſſions of inquiry under their royal ſeal to every *Comot* of North-Wales, with commiſſioners appointed to ſearch into, and examine the true ſtate of the ancient Britiſh tenures, and the former cuſtoms and uſages thereof.

Theſe

Theſe commiſſioners by the authority of the power they were intruſted with, ſummoned and impannelled juries of the moſt ſubſtantial men in every hundred or *Comot*, and gave them in charge to make due returns in writing, upon oath, of the true ſtate and circumſtance of every tenure; as thoſe tenures ſtood bound to the prince, and had not before been granted over, in *Frank-Almoine* or otherwiſe, to other proprietors; as indeed many tenures in ſeveral *Comots* were, of which therefore we have at preſent very little account. At the ſame time, or little after the firſt commiſſion of this ſort, the Biſhop of *Bangor* took out another commiſſion in like manner, to enquire into the tenures of the biſhoprick; which extent I have ſeen with Dr. Humphreys, late biſhop of *Bangor*.

Now theſe juries having faithfully diſcharged their duties, by what light and information was then produced before them in thoſe particulars; and the returns and verdicts made by them, being of record, and fairly written, were taken by the commiſſioners in every *Comot*; and in this part of North-Wales were ſent and delivered up by them into the prince's exchequer at Caernarvon, to be there carefully and ſafely kept and recorded. From theſe verdicts it is that we now have the beſt lights into ſome parts of the frame and conſtitution of the Britiſh polity, and other particulars of that government, which otherwiſe would have for ever lain in the dark; or at leaſt we ſhould have been far to ſeek for them. And indeed for what light we have from theſe records, we ought to be much obliged to the generous care and induſtry of that very worthy and deſervedly celebrated perſon, Sir *William Gruffydd* of *Penrhyn*, knight, and chamberlain of North-Wales; who preſerved theſe records from periſhing, by collecting ſo many of them as he could retrieve from moth and corruption; and then cauſing thoſe ſcattered rolls and fragments which he could meet with, to be fairly written by one *Jenkyn Gwyn*, in two large books of parchment, for the information of poſterity. One whereof is that book, kept always in the Chamberlain's-office, called by the name of the Extent of North-Wales; and the other he tranſmitted into the Auditor's-office at London, where it is preſerved to this day. Of this book there have been many entire copies written, which are yet in many hands; and ſome in parcels, of particular counties; which deſerve to be more narrowly ſearched into and examined than generally they are; out of which, and a few other remains of antiquity, in order to account for the

the ancient diviſions of this iſland, I have taken up and collected theſe obſervations following.

First, We have thence to obſerve, that the * Britiſh princes and other lords of particular territories, were owners *in capite* of all their lands, and ſovereign lords of all their ſubjects and bondmen; unto whom theſe princes and ſovereign proprietors diſtributed ſeveral townſhips and hamlets, or particular tenures or *Gavels* of thoſe ſaid townſhips and hamlets; which *Gavels* they generally called *Wele*'s, i. e. ſeats or dwellings: Theſe, I ſay, they diſtributed to their bondmen and ſubjects, by way of martial diſpoſure, to be enjoyed by theſe vaſſals and ſubjects on ſuch terms and conditions, as thoſe lords and princes who beſtowed them thought fit to impoſe; and with ſuch privileges and degrees of right and liberty, as they found thoſe men, either by deſcent or merit, to deſerve. And thoſe men they called either freeholders or vaſſals, and the lands and tenures ſo given, either freehold or villanage; being all equally tenants to their lord or prince, but in regard of theſe privileges diſpenſed to them in the firſt diſpoſal, they were in different degrees of freedom or vaſſalage.

Secondly, We have thence to obſerve, that theſe townſhips were diſtinguiſhed by them, in reſpect either of quality or quantity. In reſpect of quality, we find that theſe *vills* or townſhips were either wholly free or wholly bond; or partly free or partly bond. And we may obſerve alſo, that of the bond and native townſhips—*Terra Nativa* the Extent-book calls them—there were ſome lands of greater freedom and ſome of leſs, or of none at all; and their poſſeſſors or tenants, I mean of the firſt ſort of villanage, called themſelves *Nativi Liberi*, i. e. Free Natives, or the better ſort of vaſſals; as the others of the ſecond ſort were called *Puri Nativi*, Perfect Slaves. In Ireland, much the ſame diviſion of tenants, viz. free and bond, ſubſiſted; as is mentioned by Sir James Ware and others in their accounts of that kingdom.

But the wholly free townſhips and freeholds were in themſelves from their original conſtitution, ſuch as gave their poſſeſſors a rank above other tenants; qualified them, it ſeems, for offices and employments, and gave them ſeats and voices in courts of judicature; from which privilege of ſitting *aloft*, higher than the other tenants in their *Gorſeddau*, and of aſſiſting in paſſing of judicial decrees and ſentences, the tenants

* *Y Brenhin biſyddtir y deyrnas oll.* See *Howel Dda.*

of thoſe freeholds were generally called *Uchelwyr*, that is, men of principal rank in the *Tref* or townſhip.

On the other ſide, we find that the tenants of bond-lands and villanages, as they were of a quality below and inferior to freeholders, ſo they were obliged to greater drudgeries, and employed in more ſervile works, and were to be diſpoſed of in many things as their lords and princes pleaſed to uſe them. And of theſe, ſome (as I obſerved before) were free natives and ſome pure natives. The free natives I take to be thoſe who had ſome degree of freedom, who might go where they would, might buy and ſell, and had many immunities; but the pure natives (as they were called) were the peculium of their proprietory lords and princes, to be diſpoſed of as they liſted. And I remember to have met in Sir *William Gruffyth*'s book, with an extract of a deed, where the natives of the townſhip of *Porthaethwy*, many years after the time of the Britiſh princes, were ſold as part of the eſtate of thoſe lands they belonged to; and of which, and others of that ſort, I have given elſewhere large inſtances. And I have by me a copy of injunction iſſued out by Henry the Seventh, king of England, commanding eſcheators and all other miniſterial officers to ſee that the king's native tenants kept within their common limits; and if any of them were found to ſtray and wander from their home, to drive them back, like beaſts, to their pinfolds, with the greateſt ſeverity.

THIRDLY, In regard of extent and quantity; theſe *Trefs* were ſome of them entire and undivided; and ſome disjointed and ſevered into parcels and hamlets. Some *Trefs* were large and capacious, conſiſting of many *Wele*'s, ſeats and families; as theſe again of *Rhandirs* and *Gavels*, meaſured out by *Boviats* and *Carucats*. And ſome *Trefs* were narrow and ſcanty, conſiſting of fewer of theſe diviſions; as theſe did of fewer *Carucats* and *Boviats*.

It is obſervable alſo, that theſe *Trefs* thus qualified and diſtinguiſhed, and likewiſe the ſeveral partitions and ſub-partitions of them, as they happened by gavel-kind, eſcheats, the gift of princes, or any other ways to be divided, were all of them obliged to the prince, or under him, or by derivation from him, to their immediate lord or chief proprietor, by certain fixed and determined ties and conditions, rated and eſtabliſhed, it ſeems, at the firſt diſpoſal of theſe tenures by the prince or other lords of the fee; and to be punctually obſerved and performed by thoſe tenants and their ſucceſſors, to their ſucceeding lords and maſters.

Now

Now all theſe bonds and ties whereby all holders of land in the Britiſh ſtate, were indiſpenſably obliged to the prince their landlord, were, as we may obſerve out of theſe records, of divers ſorts, which I reckon to be theſe, viz.

Firſt, RENTS.
Secondly, SERVICES.
Thirdly, DUTIES.
Fourthly, MULCTS.
Fifthly, ATTENDANCES.

By theſe the prince's wants in every reſpect were ſupplied, and the people had enough to make a plentiful ſubſiſtence: By theſe too the people engaged the love and enabled the protection of their prince: And by theſe the prince ſufficiently ſecured the people's loyalty and obedience.

RENTS.

FIRST, Rents: Some of theſe were paid in ready money, and ſome in goods and cattle. What were paid in ready money, were paid either at fixed and certain times, as the four quarterly payments, and the two half yearly ones; or were paid uncertainly, and by caſualty, as *Releefs*, and *Herriots*: Theſe were ſmall ſums of money now, though great then, aſcertained and rated on all thoſe particular tenures that were conditioned to pay them.

What alſo were paid in goods and cattle, are either certain quantities of corn, at certain times in the year, as a ſet *quantum* of wheat, barley, oats, *&c.* which very often occurs in the Biſhop's Extent-book; or *Staurum Principis*, which many *Trefs* were obliged to pay; and that was a certain number of oxen and cows, at the end of the year: As it frequently occurs in the King's Extent.

As for what they called *Tunc*-rent, it is properly referrible to thoſe ſums paid to the prince at times limited and certain; it often occurs in the Prince's Extent, and ſeldom or ever in the Biſhop's Extent-book. It was a ſum payable by four villain-townſhips in every *Comot*, five ſhillings *per annum* on thoſe *Trefs*, ceſſable on every *Gavel* or tenure, and collected by the *Goſtegwr* or ſerjeant of the manor. And ſo *Eſcuage*, when it was rated and certain, was a ſort of *Soccage*-rent; but when uncertain and caſual, it was no other than military or knight-ſervice, as I found it obſerved in * *Gwydyr*-copy, among other uſeful remarks on the Extent of North-Wales.

* Sir John Wynn's copy of the Extent of North-Wales.

It is to be obſerved in this place, that as originally ſome rents were fixed and rated on all tenures whether free or bond, and on all tenants, whether freeholders or vaſſals; and that thoſe were of that ſort which the Engliſh laws call ſoccage-rent or tenures; ſo the difference lay chiefly in the different grants of the ſupreme diſpoſing power which the prince had over thoſe lands and tenants. As to the freehold-lands, the tenants or freeholders of them had a legal right thereto, on the before-mentioned conditions, but forfeitable in certain caſes (as I obſerved before) to the prince or lord of the fee. But as to the villanages, the bond-tenants thereof, whom they commonly called *Villains* or *Vaſſals*, had no property in the lands aſſigned to them, but merely occupancy and poſſeſſion during the prince's or lord's pleaſure; and they were but as ſlaves, to be placed here and there, as it pleaſed their lords and maſters to diſpoſe of them; yet moſtly with this regard, that the rents charged on thoſe *Villain*-tenures were fixed and certain, and payable, as the rents of freeholds were, on fixed and certain days of payment, which appears in every part of the prince's Extent-book. On this account it was that when the Engliſh monarchs poſſeſſed the rights and revenues of the Britiſh princes, they could not without manifeſt wrong diſpoſſeſs the freeholders, becauſe upon our ſubmiſſion to the Engliſh ſceptre it was otherwiſe ſtipulated; but as to the villanages and lands of *Vaſſals*, they ſoon made bold to take them into their own hands; becauſe to ſlaves, that is, to ſuch as have no right, no wrong can be done: And then they let out thoſe lands on leaſes, as they did their other crown-lands; ſtill confining themſelves to the old rents; but enhancing their benefit from them, by augmenting their tenants' fines as they ſaw occaſion.

And theſe ſorts of tenure were they, which afterwards came to be called King's-Lands: All which, with other lands that accrued to the crown by eſcheats, forfeitures, and diſſolution of religious houſes, &c. are now almoſt all ſold here to private families; I mean the improved rents of them; but the old rents of them, being unalienable are ſtill paid yearly by the preſent proprietors at the Auditor's-office; as the other freehold-rents are or ought to be annually collected, in every townſhip by itſelf, by ſome one deputed by the Auditor to receive them; and in order thereunto, to give acquittances in diſcharge of what they ſo receive, upon the collectors ſhewing their warrant and the roll or record of the hundred ſubſcribed by the jury thereof on the laſt ſurvey

made; by which roll it was to appear what every tenant was to pay, and on what lands they were to levy it.

Here give me leave to make one further remark, not unuſeful on this ſubject; which is, that ſome may be apt to wonder that two or three ſhillings may, with any propriety of ſpeaking, be called the rent of ſo much land as they are uſually paid for. But that wonder will ſoon vaniſh, when they conſider that two or three ſhillings were, at the time theſe lands were ſo rated, in intrinſic value, more than ſo many pounds ſterling in theſe days; as I want not clear evidence to demonſtrate. And though I am as unwilling as any to advance a propoſition that may ſeem ſtrange, yet in this matter, it is not ſo ſtrange as true, that if gold and ſilver come to appear above ground yearly in ſuch prodigious quantities, during the two next centuries, as they have done the two laſt—the property of thoſe metals being to laſt for a long time, and in the uſing not eaſily waſtable—the intrinſic value of ſo much gold or ſilver as makes two or three pounds ſterling now, will dwindle and diminiſh one half; that is, will buy no more goods at two hundred years hence, than what half the ſum of thoſe metals will now do. The reaſon will hold good on both ſides: For if there be now twenty times more ſilver and gold in Europe than was two hundred years ago, as we preſume there is, and provided the encreaſe of theſe metals advances proportionably during the next two hundred years in theſe countries, it will follow that the intrinſic value thereof muſt decreaſe, for the next two hundred years in the ſame proportion; ſo that twenty ſhillings then will be but as ten ſhillings now: Becauſe the gold and ſilver of Europe, if it comes up, and be imported here in the ſame proportion, and the exportation of it prevented by law, will be forty times more at that time, than it was two hundred years ago, and therefore it comes down to half the value; for it is apparent that the intrinſic value of all goods riſe and fall in proportion to the plenty and ſcarcity of them. It matters not in this caſe, whether theſe metals in a kingdom or ſtate be coined or not; for when the ſtate or kingdom is poſſeſſed of it, it is eaſily on occaſion made current, and is ſo to be reckoned the caſh of that ſtate or kingdom; and the value of lands and goods muſt ratably increaſe, as the intrinſic value of gold and ſilver falls and diminiſhes.

SERVICES.

SECONDLY, Services: Under this head is to be reckoned a great deal of what the ſeveral *Treſs*, or the particular *Gavels* and tenures of every manor

manor were obliged to do. To the well conceiving whereof it will be neceſſary to premiſe, that in every *Cantref*, generally, the prince had a manor-houſe, his chapel, mills, offices, and other conveniences; to every one of which, and that in ſeveral ſorts, the ſervices of tenants were ſeverally adapted.

The head-manor, or the place where the manor-houſe or *Llys* ſtood, was uſually comportioned into ſeveral *Gavels*, laid out to tenants for private and domeſtic ſervices. The tenants or poſſeſſors of ſuch lands were in many places called, *Gwyr Mael*, *Gwyr tîr y porth*, and *Gwyr gwaith*. The tenants of the reſt of the *Comot* were ſome of them obliged to repair the walls, ſome the hall, ſome the chapel; and ſome of them to do other neceſſaries and appendages of the prince's palace, or the chief manor-houſe of the *Cantref*.

Beſides theſe alſo, there were in every *Cantref* ſome tenants who were tied by their tenures to carry ſtones, ſome to carry corn, ſome to repair the roof, ſome the walls, ſome the water-courſe of this mill, and ſome others of that mill; ſome to carry the *Mahere*, as it is there expreſſed; by which, I take it, they meant the great ſtones *, and the great timber, of this or that mill. Some alſo were obliged by their tenures to repair weirs, ſome to carry wattles and bruſh-wood, ſome to hedge warrens, and ſome to attend the offices of the larder and kitchin, as every where occurs in the prince's Extent-book.

As to the mentioned diſtinction of *Gwyr Mael*, *Gwyr Gwaith*, and *Gwyr tir y porth*; I take *Gwyr Mael*, to be either the prince's local guard, obliged to arm themſelves, to watch and ward about the palace, anſwerable to the caſtle-guard-tenure among the Engliſh; or perhaps they were only ſuch as had ſome ſmall wages allowed them for their work, as there occurs the mention of ſeveral tenants in the prince's Extent-book, who had a penny *per diem* allowed them. The *Gwyr gwaith* were ſuch as were to work on their own coſts. And the *Gwyr tir y porth* were ſuch as were obliged to do, on the prince's corn-land, the uſual work and ſervice incumbent on them. Of this laſt ſort the Biſhop's Extent makes frequent mention, but not by that name.

Now *tîr y porth* I take to be *terra paſtûs* in its true ſignification; that is, ſuch lands—and generally they were the beſt—as the princes reſerved in every manor for the corn-proviſion; and ſuch in many places have been called *Cemmaes* or *Cefn-faes*, as I before obſerved, viz.r idged

* The great timber, not the great ſtones. *Maeremium*, or *Maberemium*, is an old law term for any ſort of timber fit for building, derived from the French *Mereſme*.

or ploughed land: Which diſtinction was very proper, when the country was generally wild and woody. And theſe *Cemmaes*'s, of which there are ſeveral in Wales, are always reckoned the beſt corn-lands in their territory.

Thus in the manor of *Rhoſir*, the dividend or portion of land aſſigned to that uſe was the townſhip of *Celleiniog*, alſo called *Maes y porth*, as one part of it is ſo called to this day; which *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth*, prince of North-Wales, beſtowed as proviſion-land, as he did alſo *Bodgedwydd* or *Trefod Gedwydd* in the *Cantref* of *Aberffraw*, on the abbey of Conway. Both which places were afterwards by the monks of that houſe called, the one *Quirt* or *Quart grains*, and the other *Quirtau*; they being both applied and made uſe of by that convent, with ſome difference of condition, to the ſame ancient end and purpoſe.

DUTIES.

THIRDLY, Duties: Under this head I comprehend the ſeveral ſuits and courſes, which many of their tenants, both free and bond, were obliged to perform:

Firſt, *Secta ad Curiam*, i. e. appearance, when ſummoned, at the prince's court; which without great peril none durſt refuſe.

Secondly, *Secta ad Hundredum*, i. e. to appear, when ſummoned, at the court of the Hundred or *Comot* where they lived.

Thirdly, *Secta ad Comitatum*, i. e. appearance at the County Court. This was formerly their great court of Common-Pleas, and of great authority, whoſe juriſdiction extended over the whole county. And is to this day under the king's ſubſtitute, the ſheriff of the county, of conſequence; wherein matters of the greateſt moment, relating to the county, are tranſacted.

Fourthly, *Secta ad Molendinum*, that is, to grind at ſuch and ſuch a mill, paying griſt-toll, *ad trigeſimum vas*, the thirtieth part, which was then very conſiderable, when the repairs were all upon theſe tenants, who yet were obliged to pay that toll. And ſome of theſe tenants who were not concerned with the repairs, were yet obliged to make and clear water-courſes, and to carry ſeveral things thereunto, eſpecially the prince's own corn.

Fifthly, *Secta ad gwerram*; they were obliged to array and follow the prince to the war: This was a general duty, where the nobility and commonalty were to attend, when called upon. And the ſame in that caſe, was the duty of every tenant to his immediate lord or nobleman; *ita*

cum

cum domino ad gwerram ſumptibus propriis; that is, to attend their lord engaged in the war, ſome for a limited time, and to a limited place, but ſome indefinitely to any place, at their own proper coſts and charges. This latter duty, where it was ſo peremptory and indefinite, was then called *Gwaith Milwyr*, that is, a ſort of knight-ſervice.

Secondly, under this head I reckon alſo the *Cylchau* or the courſes theſe tenants were bound to undergo. In this I muſt confeſs there is at this time no ſmall difficulty to give a determinate account what they all were, and how by the prince or his officers they were uſed and managed. They are in the Extent of North-Wales thus expreſſed and reckoned.

1. *Cylch Stalon.*
2. *Cylch Rhaglon.*
3. *Cylch Hebogyddion.*
4. *Cylch Greorion.*
5. *Cylch Dowrgon.*

Theſe were duties incumbent on particular tenures, to be performed by the tenants or poſſeſſors of them at certain turns and courſes, according as thoſe lands were originally ſtipulated for, and conditioned to undergo. On ſome, one or two of theſe duties; on others, more were incumbent. Towards the explanation of theſe courſes, I ſhall offer the following conjectures.

Firſt, it ſeems to me very probable, that in thoſe ancient tumultuous times, when buildings were very mean, and frequently demoliſhed by the rage of wars;—that in thoſe unſettled times, I ſay, proviſion was every where made, when lands were to be diſpoſed and cantoned into *Gavels* and tenures, for the ſupport and maintenance of the numerous retinue that was of neceſſity to ſerve the prince and to attend his court.

On this proviſion, and in this manner eſtabliſhed, the prince's officers and ſervants were to ſubſiſt. And as our prince's court was then rather ambulatory and ſhifting from manor to manor, than fixed and ſettled to any certain place; ſo into what *Cantref* or manor ſoever he came, and for ſome time reſided, the tenants of that manor, by a reſerved power as before-mentioned, were particularly to take in and provide for ſuch and ſo many of the prince's officers and ſervants, as their *Gavels* and tenures of lands, ſo given out to them and to their anceſtors, obliged them to do.

And

And thus I conceive that *Cylch Stalon* was the receiving and entertaining of the prince's grooms, and feeding ſo many of his horſes, for ſuch and ſuch a time, among ſuch and ſo many of the tenants of the manor he reſided in, as were particularly bound to the performance of that duty.

So likewiſe it is probable, that *Cylch Rhaglon* * was the entertaining the prince's *Seneſchal* or ſteward, among ſuch and ſo many of the tenants, (for we muſt know that as well freeholders as bondholders were tenants) who were obliged to receive them, each in his turn. And this is expreſs in the Biſhop's Extent-book, where you may find that his *Seneſchal* was to be entertained, for ſo long a time as their cuſtom obliged them to do; and alſo the biſhop's horſes or *Garreons*, ſo called there, to be fed and provided for, during the ſame, by ſeveral of the biſhop's tenants.

That *Cylch Hebogyddion* was, after the ſame manner, the entertaining and providing for the prince's falconers and his hawks. This is eaſily to be gathered out of the King's Extent-book of North-Wales, *in villa de Pennarth in Comitatu Carnarvon & paſſim alibi.* So it is alſo to be gathered out of thoſe records, that *Cylch Greorion*, as it is called, was the providing for and entertaining by turns (every tenant for a limited time) the keepers of the prince's live-ſtock and cattle; ſuch I ſuppoſe as were deſigned for the ſlaughter, for the proviſion of his family, when he reſided in their manor. And this duty, it ſeems, came afterwards to be commuted into certain payments of money, called *Arian-Greorion*, which often occur in the Prince's Extent.

But laſtly, with reſpect to that *Cylch Dorgon* or *Cylch Dowrgon*, which occurs very often in the Prince's Extent-book, and incumbent on very many free *Trefs* and *Gafels*; what is meant by it, I think is not eaſily determinable.

It ſeems with ſome likelihood to relate to the prince's huntſmen, and his dogs; which the tenants were likewiſe obliged to take in and provide for by turns, as often as the prince made any ſtay, or came to hunt in any *Tref* or manor. This I think is made out ſomewhat plain from a paſſage in that fragment of the *Moelmutian Laws* mentioned in *Howel Dda*'s book, in the latter part of it, where *Trefs* are diſtributed into *Maenols*; of which the author of that writing affirms twelve ought to be in every *Comot:* Whereof four, ſays that old law, ought to be, *I feibion eillion*; that is, as Dr. Davies explains the word, in villainage or

* *Rhaglon à Rhaglaw.*

vaſſal-tenure †. And the uſe of thoſe townſhips was, as it is there expreſſed, *I barthi Cwn, a Meirch, a Chlych, a Dafraith*, viz. to receive and provide for the prince's dogs, his horſes, his hawks; and by *Dafraith*, we are to underſtand all ſervile drudgeries which theſe *Treſs* were bound to do. And ſo that old law concludes, that in that manner the prince was to order his court, and to diſpoſe of his retinue and ſervants in every *Cantref* or *Comot* he came into; which I take to be the meaning of thoſe words in that law—*Ac yn y Môdd hynny y dyle y Brenhin weſtfa bob blwyddyn*, i. e. and in that manner was the prince to go about or viſit his manors or *Cantrefs* every year.

Neither is it unreaſonable to think, conſidering the ſmallneſs of the prince's manor-houſes and buildings, which he had generally in every *Cantref*, and which were but ſorry habitations then; I ſay, it is not at all unreaſonable that his great houſhold and retinue ſhould be thus diſtributed by turns and changes amongſt his tenants. But how long theſe turns continued at a time, or how oft they returned, I cannot ſay: But do ſuppoſe that when the prince's court came to any *Cantref*, he having a manor-houſe for the moſt part in every one, the tenants of that manor were, as before-mentioned, obliged to keep and maintain the prince's ſervants, while he made his ſtay in the ſaid manor; and when he removed to another manor, it is likely the tenants of the laſt manor he reſided in were eaſed of their gueſts. And it is probable that when the prince did not, or could not come at the uſual times among ſuch tenants, that they were then obliged to pay in lieu of it, a ſum of money, which was therefore called *Arian Gweſtfa*; which Dr. Davies on the word *Gweſtfa* explains thus—*Summæ pecuniarum quas ſubditi ſolvebant principi, pro eo quòd ipſum & ſuos, in tranſitu, ſuâ quiſque vice in hoſpitium excipere tenebantur*; that is, "A ſum of money which the tenants paid to the prince, inſtead of entertaining him and his court by turns, as he went about on his progreſs."

It is remarkable here, that the ancient Iriſh laws ſeem to have been much of a ſort with ours in this caſe, by their *Brehons* and *Bonachts*, their *Coigne* and *Liveries*, their *Caſherings* and *Ceſſes*, and their *Cuttings* on their tenants, claimed and exacted by their lords and princes; as appears at large in Sir John Davies's book of the State of Ireland. Which is a further argument of the original agreement between the Iriſh and old Britons, in their forms of government, as wella s in their

† It ſhould rather be tranſlated—"Sons of aliens or ſtrangers."

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language, and many other particulars; betokening their being once one people, or having at leaſt a great intercourſe and communication between them.

MULCTS.

FOURTHLY, Mulcts: Of this ſort we find not many incomes to the prince, fixed and rated upon any particular tenures; only *Gober*, *Amober*, and *Obediw*. The other mulcts, whereof there were a great many, as may be obſerved out of the books of *Howel Dda*, were caſual and not local penalties, inflicted but in particular caſes, on a few perſonal tranſgreſſions.

Amober, or *Am-wobr*, *Ammobrogium* in the Biſhop's Extent-book, was a mulct payable on certain *Treſs* and *Gafels*. It was generally ten ſhillings, and on ſome places but five, *Pro fœminarum Scortatione*, for womens' incontinency. And there are ſome who affirm, that it was anciently a fine paid to the prince or lord of the fee, at the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter. See Dr. Davies's quotations on that word.

Obediw * was a ſum of money rated on ſeveral *Treſs*, and payable to the prince or chief lord, as the mortuary for the death of a tenant; and this was ſometime called *Obediw Dietifedd*, where a ſum of money was payable to the prince or lord for a tenant dying without iſſue. This is ſometimes called *Relevium* or relief-money, paid to this day to the prince by the tenants of ſeveral lands; though it be expreſly remitted in the charter of North-Wales.

But for *Gober*, I have good grounds out of the Extent of North-Wales to affirm, that it was that which was paid to the prince or lord for the marriage of a vaſſal's daughter; which was moſt commonly ten ſhillings. See the Extent-book in *Villâ Treddeſtennydd* in Angleſey. A relic, it ſeems, of ancient heatheniſh barbarity, commuted in time of Chriſtianity to a ſum of money, and therefore called *Am-wobr* †; being a ſuppletory mulct, payable to the chief lord of the place, inſtead of that barbarous cuſtom of deflouring his vaſſal's bride. Many of theſe payments are now remitted by the charter of North-Wales, granted to the Welſh by king Henry the Seventh.

* This is the ſame with *Abediw*, *Ebediw*, and *Dared*, in Angleſey, *Hared*, where the beſt beaſt of the tenant's at his death, is due to the lord: *Anglice*, Herriot.

† *Gober* and *Amober* are two diſtinct mulcts; the former being a fine paid to the lord on the marriage of a tenant's daughter, or on her committing the act of incontinency: The latter, a payment made to the bride's father or guardian, for his conſent.

ATTENDANCES.

LASTLY, Attendances: Theſe were an obligation on the great ones to their ſovereign prince. I call it attendance, becauſe it was the condition of a fee or honour, as ſervice was the condition of inferior tenures. And this attendance was of ſundry ſorts, according to the ſeveral occaſions of the prince, both in peace and war.

The perſons thus obliged were generally the prince's nobles, lords and barons, and therefore this attendance of theirs is ſometimes called baron-ſervice. And theſe lords and great men had likewiſe under them, both tenants of freeholds and vaſſals, over whom they were lords in fee. And it is here a queſtion, perhaps worth enquiry, whether there was before Edward the Third, any ſuch thing as fee-ſimple in Wales, except only in theſe noble and feudatory poſſeſſions? Of this ſort was *Llowarch ap Bran* of *Porthamel*; *Hwſa ap Cynddel* of *Preſaddfed*; *Tegerin ap Carwedd* of *Llwydiarth*; *Eneon ap Gwalchmai* of *Trefeilir*; *Cadrod Hwrdd* of *Bodafon*, and others in their time of this country, who had truſts and offices both martial and civil conferred upon them, and alſo titles, honorary and miniſterial; all depending on theſe conditions.

Thus * *Hwſa ap Cynddel* of *Preſaddfed* held his eſtate in fee, by attending on the prince's coronation, and bearing up of the right ſide of the canopy over the prince's head, at that ſolemnity. And the biſhop, they ſay, held ſomewhat by his peculiar office of crowning him, and by being his *capellanus primarius*, his principal chaplain. Moſt of the prince's lords and nobles were bound to particular attendances by theſe land-conditions, beſides what they were in general obliged to, as ſubjects by homage and fealty; which conditions under pain of baniſhment (which ſort of puniſhing was then moſt in uſe) and forfeiture of their eſtates, they were bound to perform, when duly ſummoned and called thereunto.

On this account, I conceive, it was that the three ſons of *Tudur ap Gronw* of *Trecaſtell*, viz. *Ednyfed* of *Trecaſtell*, *Gronw* of *Penmynydd*, and *Rhys* of *Arddreiniog*, were in their time called the three temporal lords of Angleſey; as the *Penclas* of *Holy-Head*—i. e. *Pencolas* or preſident of the collegiate church there;—the arch-deacon of Angleſey; and the prior of *Penmon*, were the three ſpiritual lords. Their tenures, it ſeems,

* *Yr Hwſa bwn a'i Etifeddion bynaf a wiſcant y Dalaith am ben y Tywyſog, gyda ac Eſcob Bangor; ac ar y dydd cyntaf y cyſſegrid y Tywyſog yn y Dalaith, yr oedd i Hwſa y pár dillad a fai am y Tywyſog, werth wiſco y Dalaith am ei ben; a hyn oedd waſanaeth Hwſa ap Cynddel.* Vide *Lewis Dwn, Gloddaith* copy, p. 53.

being

being baron or knight-ſervices, and anciently intitled to ſome of thoſe martial or miniſterial attendances, encouraged them, for preſervation of their ancient rights and cuſtoms, to take on them thoſe titles and call themſelves knights or lords; as the ſtory of one, who indeed was father of theſe mentioned temporal lords, is remarkable in Mr. Robert Vaughan's book concerning that particular. Theſe ſorts of Welſh lords were they that paid homage for their lands and eſtates in fee, to Edward prince of Wales, at Cheſter, in the time of Edward the Firſt. See *Caradocus Lancar.* Mr. Wynn's edition, p. 310.

There were in Angleſey, and in other countries, certain tenures and lands, which were held of neither prince nor lord, but of certain ſaints or patrons of churches; where we find, as appears in the Prince's Extent-book, the tenants of thoſe lands call themſelves abbots. Of which ſaints or church-patrons, there were ſeven in Angleſey that were intitled *in capite* to ſeveral tenures, viz. St. *Beuno*, St. *Cybi*, St. *Cadwaladr*, St. *Peirio*, St. *Cyngar*, St. *Macutus* or *Mechell*, and St. *Elian*. The laſt of theſe, viz. St. *Elian*, had a great deal of lands beſtowed on him and his church for ever by *Caſwallon Law-hir*, ſometime prince of theſe countries, as appears by an ancient charter under the name of *Caſwallon*, but how authentic I cannot ſay; which yet has been inſpected and confirmed by ſome of the kings of England. Moſt of theſe churches, as I obſerved in an ancient manuſcript, had in ancient times their *Nawddfaeu* or ſanctuaries eſtabliſhed in them: Which gives me grounds to gueſs that one of the conditions of thoſe tenures ſo beſtowed on them, was to maintain and ſupport thoſe places of refuge, and the perſons protected in them; and to ſee that their privileges and immunities, with other rights thereunto belonging, were from time to time preſerved and kept inviolate.

To conclude this ſection; I here take leave to ſay, that the reaſon which induced me to collect theſe brief remarks on the ſtate and condition of our *Cantrefs*, *Comots* and townſhips, with their ſubordinate diviſions in this iſle of Angleſey, was, that by them we might have ſome light and inſpection—*ex Ungue Leonem*—into the frame and conſtitution of our ancient Britiſh government. And what I have gathered out of theſe mentioned verdicts, I take to be unexceptionable teſtimonies and evidences of what I have offered in relation to thoſe ſmaller diviſions; being the reports of the moſt ſubſtantial men in every *Comot*, made upon oath, and taken out of the beſt aſſurances, of ancient men, records, and tradition—and that too in the very cloſe and ſetting of that ancient

ancient Britiſh government; which (as all other ſublunary things have their determined fates and periods) was forced to lay down her ancient claims and pretenſions, and ſubmit to the more peaceful and happy forms of a well-tempered Engliſh eſtabliſhment, under which it has now for ſome ages happily continued.

SECTION XI.

The moſt remarkable occurrences in the Iſle of Mona, *from the time it was ſubdued by the Romans, and the Druidiſh hierarchy was diſſolved in it, to the time the Britiſh ſovereignty was eſtabliſhed at* Aberfraw, *where the hiſtory of Wales begins, to which I refer the reader for further accounts of it, during the reigns of its ſucceſſive princes, to the time it was made ſubject to the crown and laws of England.*

HAVING in ſome of the foregoing ſections accounted for the firſt planting and poſſeſſing of this Iſle of Mona by the ancient Druids, and the ſurrendering of it afterwards into the hands of the prevailing Romans; and in the laſt, for its ancient diviſions, and the diſtribution of them into ſundry ſorts of rights and poſſeſſions; it will not be, I preſume, unuſeful, if I briefly touch in this on ſome of the moſt remarkable events and overtures relating to this Iſle, from the conqueſt of it by the Romans, to the time it was made again the ſeat of ſovereignty under Roderick the Great. Of which time, the overtures I ſhall take notice of will be of two ſorts, civil and eccleſiaſtical; and will be diſtinguiſhed under two periods. Firſt, from the Romans' conquering the Iſle of Mona, to their deſerting it, and with it the whole iſle of Britain. And, Secondly, from that deſertion, to the time when the Britiſh ſceptre was eſtabliſhed at *Aberfraw*; which in ſome meaſure may clear the way to the Welſh hiſtory, which commences about that time, and gives many accounts of this iſland of Mona.

In the firſt interval, hiſtory indeed affords us very little certainty in relation to this iſle, ſave only that as a principal part of the *Ordovican* territory, it had a garriſon of Roman ſoldiers eſtabliſhed in it by Suetonius Paulinus—*Præſidium impoſuit victis*, as *Tacitus* reports—which was ſoon ruined by the Britons, as I have before-mentioned. Yet this iſle being a place of conſiderable conſequence, as being the chief retreat of the *Ordovices* or North-Wales men, we may well preſume that ſome time after, when Julius Agricola had retaken and compleated the conqueſt

queſt of it, he likewiſe eſtabliſhed garriſons in it. And though hiſtory be ſilent, as to the particulars of that tranſaction, yet the propriety and import of the names of certain places, may be juſtly taken to ſupply that defect. By the evidence of which we may gueſs the two *Caſtelliôrs*, ſituate near the two ends of the iſland, to have been the ſeats of thoſe ſtanding garriſons. And not far from each of theſe we find alſo two places called *Pen Eſcyns*, importing chief aſcents, with ſome analogy to our *Gorſedds*; as if in theſe two precincts were then eſtabliſhed alſo their uſual præſidiary courts of juſtice, for the adminiſtration and government of the iſland. And *Preſeddfod*, i. e. *Præſidis Manſio*, now called *Preſaddfed*, may ſeem to have been the reſidence of the *Præſes* or its chief governor. For it is probable, being an iſland, that it had a ſeparate government of its own, for ſome time at leaſt.

Whatever theſe Roman eſtabliſhments at that time were, we are ſure this Iſle of Mona, with the whole *Ordovican* territory, became afterwards part or member of that province, which in the general diviſion of Britain by the Romans was called *Britannia Secunda*; and had a preſident of its own to govern the affairs of the province; and had alſo two legions eſtabliſhed on the borders of it; viz. one at Cheſter, called *Valens* or *Victrix Vigeſima*, which title of that legion might give occaſion to the Britons to call that place *Caer Lleon Gawr* *; that is, the ſtation of the *mighty* and *valiant Legion*, as by the many and great feats it had done here and elſewhere, it deſerved to be called:—And another at the other end of this province, ſeated on the river *Wiſk*, called *Britannica Secunda Auguſta*. Both theſe legions were advantageouſly ſeated to awe and keep under the *Ordovices*, the *Silures*, and the *Dimetæ* (which were ſo many unions and confederacies of petty lords and ſovereigns, who at firſt had given the Romans work enough) and to hold them in to their due obedience and ſubjection.

As a part of this weſtern province of Britain, called, as I ſaid before, *Britannia Secunda*, this Iſle of Mona—having now ſubmitted to the Roman yoke—muſt be believed to have had the ſame fate with other countries that were members of it, in paying of tributes, and ſending what levies of men it could afford, to ſerve abroad in the Roman armies and garriſons. And perhaps in reſpect of this latter or perſonal thraldom, the inhabitants of this iſland were a little happier than many of their

* Our author runs here, after Mr. Camden, into a miſtake. For this place, according to all our Britiſh writers, was ſo called from its firſt founder *Lleon Gawr*, the ſon of *Brutus Darianlas*.

ſellow-vaſſals in the more inland parts of the country; where draining of marſhes, paving of boggs, raiſing of cauſe-ways, levelling of port-ways, building of caſtles, palaces, temples, public edifices, and other ſervile drudgeries, employed the hands and waſted the ſtrength of abundance of poor wretches: As the noble *Galgacus*, in his pathetic ſpeech to his Caledonian army (recorded by Tacitus) ſays they were in many places compelled with ſtripes and hardſhips to undergo.

For indeed in all this Iſle of Mona we find no tokens of that ſort of ſlavery; no remains of palaces, baths, temples, great caſtles, and other Roman works, that may be thought to employ the natives of it; except we reckon under that head, the great cauſe-way or bridge near *Holy-Head*, called *Pont Rhyd Pont*, and the many fiſheries or thoſe encloſures of great ſtones, raiſed in many nooks and angles in the ſea round the iſland, eſpecially on the ſhore of the river *Menai*. And this ſort of work I take the more probable to be Roman, for that I frequently find thoſe *ſtone-weirs* in our ancient * deeds to have been called *Gurgites*, a name undoubtedly the Romans gave them—as being generally made in creeks and eddies that draw and ſwallow in, and therefore called by them *Gurgites*, and corruptly by the Britons, *Gorgit* or *Goret*, a name they retain to this day—as having been firſt built at the command and by the direction of the Romans, ſome of them with great toil and labour. Yet this iſland ſeems to have been a place of ſome conſiderable repute, eſpecially in the more peaceful times of the Roman empire, as appears by the many medals that were from time to time taken up in this iſland, and from the abundance of their coins, gold, ſilver, copper, braſs, that were and are daily here and there dug up in it. Not to mention the probability of greater quantity of theſe Roman coins being taken up in former ages, when more of them were to be found; I have myſelf ſeen (of the number of ſuch as we may well preſume were taken up lately) coins of many of the emperors, and of ſome of the Cæſars, from Caligula to Valentinian the Second, taken up in this iſland, which comprehends all the time the Romans governed here. And of ſome of them whole pots full were lately found, and great numbers of Carauſius's,

* *Johannes Hammond*, &c. *dedi & conceſſi Willimo ap Gryffyth ap Gwilim unum tenementum meum cum omnibus terris meis in Villa de Bodva in Comit. Angleſey*, &c. *ac etiam quartam partem Eiconomiæ in Dominio Epiſcopi & Capituli Bangor in Comotis Mene, Malltraeth & Llewen in Comitatu Angleſey: nec non partes meas in Gurgitibus ſive piſcariis Villæ de Trevorion in Comitatu Carnarvon, pro Sexaginta ſolidis Sterlingorum, præfato W. G. G. ſolut. quæ quidem Tenem. terc. Eiconomiæ partes in Gurgitibus ſive piſcariis mihi devenerint ex parte Marured uxoris meæ quæ fuit uxor Ednyfid ap Tudor*, &c. *Dat apud Bodva, xx. die Septemb. Anno Hen. 4. Primo.*

Allectus,

Allectus, Constantius, Constantine—father and son, Constans, and of Helen the empress. All which must needs argue that the place was very much frequented by the better sort, when it had such quantities of Roman coins lost and buried in it.

All this wealth of the place, of which these coins are so many testimonies, proceeded either from the plenty of corn and other provisions it afforded; or from the singularity and pleasures of the place, and other conveniencies of it, inviting perhaps many of the Roman gentry of the neighbouring countries, and not unlikely many of the officers of the legion at Chester, to come and divert themselves in proper seasons, with fishing, hunting, and catching of wild fowl, which may well be supposed to have brought this money into it. And if it abounded with corn, fish, and wild fowl, as we have reason to presume it then did; we may as justly presume, that when affairs began to be settled, and laws to be observed, it grew again wealthy and considerable: It being near enough to vend its commodities by sea to the legion at Chester, whose consumption of provisions must be much more than this small island could afford; and yet far enough from it, not to be harrassed, abused and pillaged, as their too near neighbours frequently were, by the insolent soldiery. On which account, and by its being removed out of the way of oppression, this isle may be well thought, after the first devastation was over, to have enjoyed great plenty; and to have borne its yoke, when once accustomed to it, with greater ease and security, than many of its fellow-subjects in the more exposed parts of the nation.

In this interval also, this island enjoyed the greatest blessing it ever had since it was an island. Almighty Providence was now in mercy pleased to discover to it the knowlege of Christ crucified; whereby tho' for the punishment of their sins he had subjected the bodies of those poor natives to the dominion of the Romans, yet for the glory of his great name, he at the same opened them a way to release their souls from the vassalage and tyranny of Satan, under which they had so long groaned during the darkness and errors of Gentilism.

Now in accounting for this great affair, I cannot with others, forbear lamenting here the misfortune of our nation, in having the precious records that were to convey to posterity the memory of this great work, all destroyed by the ravages of the barbarous Saxons, when we had the good fortune to have the Gospel preached to us in the earliest years of Christianity, even before Rome itself. And our complaint herein is the more just, in that it is too much to be suspected, that this execra-

ble villainy was perpetrated by the inſtigation of Romiſh agents, envious of our earlier converſion, after the coming over of monk Auſtin, to pervert our purer faith, and to lay on the ruins of our ancient church the foundation of the papal grandeur and tyranny.

For a little before the arrival of this monk Auſtin, we find Gildas, the moſt ancient Britiſh author we have now extant, poſitively affirming it of his certain knowlege. And what knowlege, properly ſo called, could he have, but from undoubted records preſerved to his time, and peruſed by him, probably at *Bangor*-monaſtry, where he ſtudied, and was a member of it? * Which place, with all its books and records, it is too well known, was burnt and ruined, and about one thouſand and two hundred of its monks inhumanly butchered by the Saxons, on the perſuaſion (as it is much to be ſuſpected, from his having before threatened in a ſly prophetic way our biſhops with it) of that wicked Auſtin. The loſs of other records he bemoans indeed; but of thoſe relating to the affairs of the church, he is poſitively ſure. *Tempore ut ſcimus ſummo Tiberii Cæſaris*—"We know"—he does not ſay it is reported, there is a tradition or the like; but upon aſſured warrant, the records being full and certain, their authority not in the leaſt queſtioned, but owned by all. He ſays, "We know that in the latter end of Tiberius Cæſar's reign, when this iſland lay frozen by its diſtance from the viſible ſun, Chriſt the ſun of righteouſneſs, the true ſun, not from a temporal, but from an eternal firmament, was firſt pleaſed to communicate his rays, that is, his precepts, to our inhabitants, held faſt, by ſome with more or leſs fervency, to the hot days of Dioclesian."

Who it was that was meant by Gildas, by whoſe coming the light of the goſpel ſhone in Britain in the latter end of Tiberius's reign, is quite loſt from the memoirs of the Chriſtian church. And whether the ancient tradition of Joſeph of Arimathea, who might then well tranſport himſelf to Britain in one of the Phœnician ſhips that frequently traded for tin, and ſo carry with him the firſt tidings of Chriſt, has any foundation in truth, (not heeding the Glaſtenbury ſtory of it) is equally uncertain. Yet it ſeems very probable, that that honourable perſon, ſoon after the aſcenſion of Chriſt, conveyed himſelf away from the Jewiſh ſanhedrim, of which he was a member, to ſome remote country, for fear the Jews ſhould queſtion him about Chriſt's body, which he had buried, but had roſe up from the grave he had laid it in: Which muſt

* We have no authority at all to ſay that Gildas was a member of *Bangor*-monaſtry.

be

be a fear well grounded, and a juſt occaſion of his withdrawing himſelf ſomewhere out of their reach; and that he did ſo is very likely. For a perſon of his character and merit, if he had ſtaid in Judea during the ten ſucceeding years after the reſurrection, would in all probability have met with an eminent mention even in the ſcripture, either for his death or his conduct in propagating the goſpel. For though the firſt propagators of it did not turn to the Gentiles for the ſpace of ten years after that, yet I ſee not how it can infer, or what ſhould hinder, that the light of the Chriſtian doctrine, even in the time which Gildas mentions, could not be conveyed and diſcovered to us; ſince it is ſure that their great commiſſion from Chriſt's own mouth was, "Go ye and teach all nations," without any limitation of time or place, only beginning at Jeruſalem, which might be done at any time. To this may be added, that what was tranſacted at the Pentecoſt ſeems to warrant the doing it, at any time after, eſpecially in remote countries where no Jews were, and where any one of the diſciples of Chriſt did arrive, in order to do it. But whether Joſeph of Arimathea or ſome other perſon did it, Gildas in his way of writing ſeems poſitive it was done before the death of the emperor Tiberius. By which account, if granted to be true, it will appear that the goſpel was brought to and preached in Britain, even before it was at Rome itſelf by ſome years; which is a point not to be given up by us, without an evidence as early and expreſs at leaſt againſt it as this of Gildas is for it, which has not yet appeared. For it is not ſo much as pretended by the Romaniſts that St. Peter, who, they own, brought firſt the faith of Chriſt to Rome, arrived there before the ſecond year of Claudius's reign, which was at leaſt five years after the death of Tiberius, and after it was brought to Britain: Which ſerves to ſhew that the Britiſh church in its firſt rudiments, was ſenior to that of Rome by ſo many years. And as ſome evidence of the truth of this mentioned tradition, it is well known that the kings of Britain and their biſhops challenged and were allowed precedency in great ſynods and other ſolemn conventions by many of their neighbouring kingdoms, on account of their having received the Chriſtian faith before others in theſe weſtern parts of the world; by which it appears it was no groundleſs tradition upon which they built that claim.

Now beſides what Gildas hints to us in this paſſage, and was no doubt well known in his time; we have other teſtimonies that come near it in foreign authors (which neither the malice of Rome, nor the barbarity of heathens could deſtroy) left yet remaining; which probably

were but what thoſe foreign authors collected out of our Britiſh records; or rather received from the mouths of ſome of our Britiſh clergy at Arles and Nice, where ſome of them reſorted to ſynods *, and might be well preſumed to give the other biſhops there an account of the primitive ſtate and planting of the Britiſh church, agreeable to the records we preſerved of it. By which teſtimonies in general it appeared, that the evangelical light was brought to the iſles of Britain, and to the utmoſt bounds of the Weſt, by ſome of the apoſtles themſelves, and others ſent by them.

FIRST, By ſome of the apoſtles: It is reported that St. James, the ſon of Zebedee, with his mother Salome, came into Britain to give tidings of Chriſt about ſix years after the reſurrection: And alſo that Simon Zelotes came to *Britannia* about four years after, teaching Chriſt, till he was taken up and martyred by the magiſtrates or Druids, who were then of great authority among the people. Some ſay that St. Peter was alſo in Britain, to which Gildas ſeems to allude in his *Sedem Petri*, &c.

SECONDLY, By apoſtolical men, or men ſent by the apoſtles. It is affirmed by thoſe teſtimonies that Ariſtobulus, the brother of St. Barnabas, was ſent by St. Paul and St. Barnabas to *Britannia* to be their biſhop about the year of our Lord 51. Of the twelve companions of Joſeph of Arimathea, the monks of Glaſtenbury have ſo deformed that tradition with their abſurd fables, that their ſtory of it deſerves little or no credit. But of all the foreign teſtimonies we have of that affair, the ſtrongeſt and beſt grounded, and on which I chiefly inſiſt, is that which tells us St. Paul travelled to the Britiſh iſles and eſtabliſhed a church therein: Which implies that he ordained preſbyters and deacons here under Ariſtobulus, or ſome other, whom he appointed biſhop over them, in order to ſet forward that important work of converting the Britiſh people to the faith of Chriſt, which indeed in a little time gained conſiderably upon them.

This coming of St. Paul to the Britiſh iſles, and as Euſebius mentions (though he names him not) to the utmoſt corners of the Weſt, is owned on all hands to have been after the fourth year of Nero, at which time he was ſet at liberty in Rome. And being to make his journey weſtward, it is not unlikely that he was influenced and engaged by that

* There were out of Britain at the council of Arles three biſhops, one prieſt, and one deacon. The biſhops of York and London, and the biſhop of a colony, probably of *Caerleon*. *Lloyd's Hiſt. Chur.* p. 72.

noble

noble Britiſh lady Claudia Rufina, his convert, and at whoſe houſe he was entertained, to proceed directly to Britain to her countrymen and relations to preach unto them the word of life; which it is probable he arrived at, Anno 59. For it is ſuppoſed that St. Paul came into Britain ſome time before Suetonius Paulinus was ſent to be governor of Britain; which was Anno 60 or 61. Of which coming of St. Paul to the Britiſh Iſles an ancient Chriſtian poet writes thus:

Tranſiit Oceanum, vel quà facit Inſula portum,
Quaſque Britannus habet terras, quaſque Ultima Thule.

Venantius Fortunatus, *lib.* 3. *de vita Martini.*

Now ſince we are pretty ſure from the beſt foreign authorities, that St. Paul came himſelf to Britain about the time now mentioned; and if he came, no doubt is to be made but that he planted a church in it (if none had been planted before) as he did in the many countries he came into; and if he planted a church in it, it is as doubtleſs that he ordained a biſhop, preſbyters, and deacons, who, together with other devout converts, were inſtructed by him to proceed in carrying on the work of the goſpel to the utmoſt corners of the land, if he did not himſelf go there: Then, I ſay, it may come well to be enquired, whether ſome of thoſe preſbyters at leaſt, or ſome other holy men before, did not travel to the Iſle of Mona before it was conquered by Suetonius Paulinus, and preached the goſpel in it. This is indeed what no one can poſitively affirm: But if we conſider that the Iſle of Mona was the utmoſt weſtern iſle of Great-Britain, to which utmoſt weſtern bounds the goſpel is ſaid to have been preached by him; that it was alſo the principal ſeat of the Britiſh Druids; that thoſe Druids governed the conſciences of the people; were great moraliſts and adorers of one God; and conſequently that the gaining them, or ſome of the chiefeſt of them, was a ready way of converting the whole nation; and indeed, excepting their human ſacrifices and diabolical * magick, they were, as to life

* This magick of the Druids, or one part of it, ſeems to have remained among the Britons even after their converſion to Chriſtianity, and is called *Taiſh* in Scotland; which is a way of predicting by a ſort of viſion they call Second Sight: And I take it to be a relic of Druidiſm, particularly from a noted ſtory related by Vopiſcus, of the emperor Diocleſian, who, when a private ſoldier in Gallia, on his removing thence, reckoning with his hoſteſs, who was a Druid woman, ſhe told him he was too penurious, and did not bear in him the noble ſoul of a ſoldier; on his reply, that his pay was ſmall, ſhe looking ſtedfaſtly on him, ſaid that he needed not be ſo ſparing of

life and converſation in many points, almoſt half Chriſtians to their hands.—Conſidering all this, I ſay, we have ſome grounds to think that the firſt ſteps of ſome of thoſe holy men were bent towards it, and made no long ſtay till they came into it: Conſidering alſo a little farther, that the power of life and death, in point of law and judicature, was veſted in theſe Druids; that one of the ſeats of judgment whereon they exerciſed that power by acquitting or condemning, as I have before ſhewed, was in the Iſle of Mona; that a medal of our Bleſſed Saviour was taken up out of the rubbiſh of that very mount or tribunal, where their ſentences and judgments were pronounced; that ſeeing it was taken up in ſo obſcure, unfrequented, and deſolate a place as now it is, and I believe ever ſince was, none can well doubt of its being true and genuine, the circumſtances of thing and place conſidered; that bearing on it a Chriſtian inſcription, importing, "This is JESUS CHRIST the Mediator," it muſt be ſuppoſed to have been brought there by ſome Chriſtian; that the Druids' authority was quite diſſolved here, and their perſons routed away by the Romans at the conqueſt of this iſland, and conſequently no further judging and condemning of criminals at this mount or conſiſtory; all this will ſhew that that medal muſt be dropt there before the demoliſhing of it by Suetonius Paulinus. And laſtly, the conqueſt of this Iſle of Mona happening about ſeventeen years after Simon Zelotes is ſaid to have preached the goſpel in Britain, and about two years after St. Paul planted a church in it, we may on theſe conſiderations be inclined or at leaſt have room to think, that one or other of thoſe holy men, thoſe devout planters of Chriſtianity, did come to this Iſle of Mona, preached or offered to preach the goſpel in it, and

of his money, for after he ſhould kill a boar, ſhe confidently pronounced, he would be emperor of Rome, which he took as a compliment from her: But ſeeing her ſerious in her affirmation, the words ſhe ſpoke ſtuck to him, and he afterwards took much delight in hunting and killing of boars, often ſaying when he ſaw many made emperors, and his own fortune not much mending, "I kill the boars, but it is others that eat the fleſh" Yet it happened that, many years after, one Arrius Aper, father-in-law of the emperor Numerianus, graſping for the empire, traitorouſly ſlew him, for which fact being apprehended by the ſoldiers and brought before Diocleſian, who being then become a prime commander in the army, they left the traytor to his diſpoſal, who aſking his name, and being told that he was called Aper, i. e. a boar, without further pauſe, he ſheathed his ſword in his bowels, ſaying, *Et hunc Aprum cum Cæteris*, i. e. "Even this boar alſo to the reſt;" which done, the ſoldiers, commending it as a quick extraordinary act of juſtice, without further deliberation ſaluted him by the name of emperor.

I bring this ſtory here in view, as not improper on this hint, nor unuſeful to be obſerved, becauſe it gives fair evidence of the antiquity of the Second Sight, and withal ſhews that it deſcended from the ancient Druids, as being one part of the diabolical magick they are charged with; and upon their diſperſion into the territories of Denmark and Swedeland continued there, in the moſt heathenish parts, to this day, as is ſet forth in the ſtory of the late Duncan Campbel.

perhaps

perhaps loſt his life, with this medal, at the place it was taken up, before ever the Romans ſet foot upon it; verifying in part what Tertullian, an age after, relates of the ſudden progreſs of the Chriſtian faith among us, viz. *Britannorum loca Romanis inacceſſa, Chriſto vero ſubdita*—i. e. "The Chriſtian doctrine anticipated the Roman ſword in the celerity of its conqueſts, and reached where that had not." So much ſwifter were the wings of the dove, carrying the joyful tidings of peace on earth and good will towards men, than of the Roman eagle bringing war and deſolation among them.

But after the ſubduing of this iſland by the Romans, there is no room to doubt that the word of life was plentifully beſtowed upon it; it being by the wiſe adjuſtment of Providence the ſignal advantage of propagating the Chriſtian faith, in having the minds of people, at the ſeaſon of offering it to them, extremely diſtreſſed and intenerated, as they were then, by a world of calamities and oppreſſion—*afflictio dat intellectum*—than which nothing could more fit and prepare them to receive and embrace it. Add to this, the Druids being then on a ſudden all driven away or deſtroyed, or not daring to appear, the minds of people were left free and at greater liberty to take in the comforts of the goſpel, which are always welcome to the grieved and afflicted.

On this opportunity, we may well conceive, the goſpel ſoon took footing, and by degrees prevailed in this iſland, as it did in all this weſtern province; which we find in about an hundred and fifty years after almoſt all Chriſtian, and making an eccleſiaſtical province, with an archbiſhop at *Caer Llion* on *Wiſk*, and ſuffragans under him. Having had many years before then, that is, Anno 182, as the learned Primate Uſher affirms, a ſchool of Chriſtian learning, to ſupply the province with clergymen, founded at *Bangor iſcoed* in Flintſhire, which became afterwards that ſo much noted and famous monaſtry of *Bangor*. But what number of biſhops the ſaid archbiſhop of *Caer Leon* had at firſt under his juriſdiction, or to what dioceſe the Iſle of Mona belonged is uncertain: *Bangor* and St. *Aſaph* dioceſes, the neareſt to it, being not founded till after the Romans deſerted Britain, and the Saxons had driven the Southern Britons to Wales. It is indeed generally conceived that after the manner of the Eaſtern churches, there were ſeven biſhops under the archbiſhop in this province. And it is not unlikely that the ſeven partitions or claſſes of clergymen, which venerable Bede mentions to have been in the renowned monaſtry of *Bangor*, were ſo many diſtinct communities peculiarly appertaining to thoſe ſeven ſuffragan churches;

churches; whereof ſome had biſhops with ſeats endowed, and ſome had theirs conſecrated *ſine Titulo*; as we find Sampſon the diſciple of Iltudus and abbot of *Llangarmon* to have been ſo ordained by archbiſhop Dubritius, as Primate Uſher obſerves. And indeed the ſame learned prelate alſo ſays, that in this interval, viz. Anno 364, one *Cebius*, ſon of Solomon duke of Cornwal, was conſecrated biſhop by St. Hilary of Poictiers, and was ſeated in this Iſlē of Mona as biſhop thereof, at a place called from him *Caer Cybi* to this day. But I fear *, if the genealogy we have of our Britiſh ſaints may deſerve any credit, that that great and learned perſon was out in placing him ſo high in time, as to be contemporary with St. Hilary biſhop of Poictiers. For the ſaid genealogy makes Solomon the father of *Cebius* or *Cybi*, to be great grandſon of Conſtantine duke of Cornwal, who next ſucceeded king Arthur in the Britiſh throne, and who was contemporary with Gildas Badonicus about the year 550. But whether of the two is in the right, John Tinmouth, from whom the archbiſhop ſeems to have had his account, or the genealogy I mention, I ſhall not pretend to determine; only I ſhall obſerve here, that our St. *Elian*, ſirnamed *Cannaid* †, i. e. the Bright, by Latin writers called *Hilarius*, who was contemporary with *Caſwallon law hir*, who ruled in this Iſle of Mona about the year 450, hath been often miſtaken by many for St. Hilary biſhop of Poictiers.

As it does not appear that the biſhops of North-Wales (unleſs we allow of this account of *Cybi*) had any peculiar ſeats before the erection of *Bangor* and St. *Aſaph* into dioceſan ſees; ſo neither can we find that the clergy in general, during this interval, had any diſtinct cures or pariſhes to reſide in, but lived together with their biſhops on the emolument of the church in collegiate bodies, as thoſe ſeven partitions or communities mentioned by Bede at the great convent at *Bangor*, in all likelihood, were to attend to reading and praying; and in obedience to their biſhops, to go to ſuch diſtricts as were allotted to them, to perform the offices of their function, as occaſion required. And as to what is there ſaid by Bede, of their living in that monaſtry by the labour of

* To remove our author's fear it may be obſerved, that we have a tradition even to this day, about this *Cybi*—that he uſed to meet St. *Seiriol* weekly at a place called *Clorach*, near *Llanerchmedd*, where there are ſtill two wells bearing their names; and becauſe of *Cybi's* being continually with his face to the ſun going and coming, and the other the contrary, they gave them the ſirnames of *Seiriol wyn a Cybi felyn*. Mr. Rowlands places *Seiriol* in the year 630: And the great grandſon of him that lived A. D. 550, might alſo live in the year 630. So that this tradition and our ancient genealogies agree exactly.

† By our Britiſh writers he is called *Elian Ceimiad*. He was the ſon of *Alldud Redegawg*, i. e. the Swift.

their hands, it may have reference only to their lay-brethren, of whom they had great numbers; and if they had not, it does not yet argue that they were not clergymen, but rather ſhews that at the firſt inſtitution of that houſe, their order was, as generally in all thoſe houſes that were erected in times of perſecution, ſo to do; however, afterwards when the church flouriſhed, they might become better provided for, and live plentifully, without much labour, on the income of it.

And as it does not appear that the clergy had any ſettled diſtinct pariſhes in this Iſle of Mona within the time of, or indeed in any part of the kingdom, till many years after, this period; ſo we do not find that they had many churches, but here and there perhaps a few cloiſters and oratories to aſſemble in, where the miniſter of the allotted diſtrict at ſet times came, as the cuſtom was, to read and preach the word of God, and to adminiſter the ſacraments. Or perhaps the tenants and vaſſals in many townſhips (for at that time there was no ſuch thing as independant freeholds) were obliged to repair and aſſemble at the manor-houſes and manſions of their reſpective lords and maſters, who in all likelihood had their chapels for that ſacred uſe and ſervice. For by what remains to us of the records of theſe times, we find that moſt of the churches and chapels we have, were dedicated to, and called by, the names of ſuch patron-ſaints, as were not born till after this period, excepting ſuch of thoſe churches as took on them ſcripture-names, as St. Mary, St. Peter, St. Michael, and the like. And if there were any public churches here within this period, it is very probable they were theſe mentioned. For we find the firſt Chriſtian *Baſilicæ* or ſacred ſtructures in other countries commonly dedicated to ſcripture-ſaints. But I leave this as doubtful and uncertain. All we can poſitively aſſert of this period is, that, as the Romans found us a place of wealth, and in full poſſeſſion of the Druidical, ſo they left us in the free enjoyment of the Chriſtian religion.

The SECOND PERIOD.

THE Second Period begins with the ſad and mighty confuſions that happened among the Britons upon the receſs and diſſolution of the Roman government in Great-Britain, which was about the year 390, when Maximus of Britiſh race, to obtain the imperial purple, had

exhauſted and brought along with him into Gallia, the very flower of its native forces, and thereby left the iſle of Britain a prey to the luſt and rapine of every ſcrambler. The Picts, who were the remains of the anciently diſpoſſeſſed Britons, with the aid of their neighbours the Scots and Iriſh, thought they had good right to re-enter their loſt poſſeſſions, which they ſoon did, and with their old pretenſions to the whole land (looking on the ſouthern Britons as a degenerate race, more than half Romans) they continued to make repeated inroads with lamentable deſolations, into the very bowels of it, to try their title, and if poſſible to regain it.

In this conteſt, which Gildas deſcribes with very moanful accents, there ſtood up to oppoſe theſe Picts and Scots, and to reſtrain their irruptions (for now walls and turrets with which we formerly ſecured ourſelves, without Roman arms to defend them, were but a jeſt to theſe warlike tygers, greedy of changing their mountainous dens for more pleaſant fruitful habitations) I ſay, there ſtood up two eminent families, who lay claim upon the abdication of the Romans, to the Britiſh ſceptre. The one was deſcended from *Coil Godhebog*, and conſequently nearly related to *Conſtantine* the Great, who was grandſon of that *Coil:* The other family was headed by *Octavius*, grandſon of *Aſclepiodotus*, duke of Cornwal, who had been before choſen king of Britain, and ſlain by the ſaid *Coil Godhebog*. Of the former mentioned family were the ſons of *Cynetha Weledig* a northern prince, whoſe mother *Gwawl* was ſiſter to *Helen, Conſtantine*'s mother. The Cornwal family ſome time after, under the uſurpation of *Vortigern* one of that lineage, who invited over the Saxons to their aid, had great ſtruggles with thoſe very Saxons, who would fain have appropriated all to themſelves. And after him, the ſame ſtruggles went on under the ſucceſſive reigns of *Aurelius Ambroſius, Uter Pendragon, Arthur* and *Conſtantine*, all of that family; till at length the ſaid *Conſtantine* yielded the ſtakes, and retired to ſecure himſelf and the harraſſed Britons that ſtuck to him, in his dutchy of Cornwal. In the mean time, the ſons of *Cynetha*, on the other ſide, having driven away the Picts and Scots, who had invaded the Iſle of Mona and the maritime parts of Wales, made head alſo againſt the encroaching Saxons. Theſe ſons of *Cynetha*, at that time, having left Cumberland and ſome neighbouring countries where they ruled, to the government of one of their family, retired into North-Wales, their grandmother's country, and ſeated themſelves in the ſeveral diviſions of it, as their names left on thoſe places do to this day teſtify.

To

To theſe, thus ſettled, the poor *Loegrian* Britons *, eſpecially their clergy, retreat for ſafety of their lives, from the rage and cruelty of the barbarous Saxons; where the driven Britons, together with the ancient inhabitants of the place, under the conduct of the princes of the *Cynethian* family, made for a long time a noble ſtand againſt the encroaching attempts of the victorious Saxons, and ſecured all the ancient *Britannia Secunda*, now called Wales, together with Cumberland, and a great part of Cheſhire, from the violences of theſe ravenous invaders.

The eldeſt of theſe princes, called *Eneon Urdd*, or the Honourable, ſent his eldeſt ſon *Caſwallon law-hîr* to the Iſle of Mona, to fight and drive away the Iriſh Picts, who a little before had forced the iſland, and near a ſtrong fort called *Din Dryſal*, had ſlain many of its inhabitants at a place called to this day, from the fought battle, *Cerrig y Gwyddyl*. At that inſtant *Caſwallon* came ſeaſonably with his forces to the iſland, fought and routed them; and at a place which the Iriſh had built, called *Llan y Gwyddel*, now *Holy-Head*, and where their fleet lay, killed *Sirigi* their captain with his own hands; then fortified the place, and ſo cleared the iſland of theſe piratical rovers, who by their frequent incurſions had ſo long infeſted it. This *Caſwallon law hîr* being the eldeſt branch of the family, choſe his ſeat in this iſland, the ruins of whoſe court or palace are to this day to be ſeen near *Llan Elian*, called *Llys Caſwallon*. And I have by me a copy of a charter of lands, franchiſes and immunities granted by this *Caſwallon* to St. *Elian* and his ſucceſſors; which has been confirmed to the tenants or freeholders of thoſe lands by ſome of the kings of England.

The eldeſt ſon of this *Caſwallon* was the famous *Maelgwn Gwynedd*, *Inſularis* or *Inſularum Draco*, as Gildas calls him, on account probably of his being born in this iſland. But others think he called him ſo, becauſe he conquered the iſle of Man and the Hebrides. He behaved himſelf gallantly in many battles, and was a terror to the Saxons. His court or uſual abode was in Caernarvonſhire, at a place in *Creuddyn* called now *Bryn Euryn* or *Llys Maelgwn Gwynedd* †, where or near which, many years after, *Ednyfed Fychan* a nobleman of Wales and deſcended from him, had his chief manſion-houſe. This *Maelgwn* erected the ſee of *Bangor* about the year 550, where a little before, *Daniel*, the ſon of *Dionothus* or *Dynawd*, abbot of *Bangor-îs-coed*, had built a college

* *Clerici & Sacerdotes mucronibus undique micantibus ac flammis, omnes ſimul in exterminium pelluntur. Matth. Weſtm. ad Annum* 586.

† There is a place called *Caſtell Maelgwn* not far from *Llan Elian*

for the North-Wales clergy, and became the firſt biſhop of it: Into which prince *Maelgwn* had once ſome thoughts of entering himſelf a monk, and to take on him the profeſſion of religion. But the charms and pleaſures of the world, to which, as Gildas writes, he was too much addicted, ſoon choaked that good reſolution in him; and he became, in the latter part of his life, a great libertine—for which he could not eſcape Gildas's pen, and froth receiving thereby, for his proud laſcivious living, very ſevere laſhes—though in his public conduct he appeared to have been a brave man, and a noble magnanimous prince.

In the interim, the Welſh, as I muſt now begin to call them, having ſome reſpite given them by the conquering Saxons, their fury towards them being ſomewhat abated, and exhauſting itſelf againſt one another for dominions and ſovereignties; the Welſh, I ſay, began to fortify and make the beſt they could—having loſt their more rich and pleaſant poſſeſſions—of theſe mountainous countries they were left maſters of. And indeed in this deplorable caſe of theirs, the more mountainous any country was, the more acceptable and the better liked by them; where every rock was a caſtle, every hill a fort, every wood, bog and river, a deſirable defence and ſecurity; and above all, the deſolate barrenneſs of the place gave little temptation to theſe now glutted Saxons, to expoſe their lives too far, and pay too dear for the purchaſe of it.

Among theſe natural advantages, which a people wrongfully diſpoſſeſſed of their country were glad to meet with, the ſight and poſition of the Iſle of Angleſey, as I ſhall now call it, ſoon gave it preference to all other places of this Weſtern part of the land, ſo as to have the capital ſeat of what remained of the Britiſh regal ſovereignty placed in it, or on the borders of it. For I have already ſhewed that prince *Caſwallon* had his ſeat in the iſland, who being the eldeſt branch of the *Cynethian* family, and conſequently on this ſide, chief ſovereign of the Britons in the regal line, to whom the other little princes, commonly called kings in their own territories, paid homage and ſubmiſſion. But his ſon *Maelgwn Gwynedd*, and his grandſon *Rhun ap Maelgwn*, being preſſed upon by the Saxons, took up their abode on the borders of it, in Caernarvonſhire, for better ſecuring the paſſes of the mountains which ſecure the Iſle: the one at *Creuddyn*, having a ſtrong caſtle at *Diganwy*; and the other at *Caer Rhun*, whoſe name it bears.

And here we may obſerve, that as the ridge of mountains called *Snowden*, is a moſt ſtrong and natural rampire, running in a ſomewhat bent line from ſea to ſea, with two rivers for a moat on the back of

it, diſcharging themſelves to the ſea at *Traeth Mawr* and *Conway*, as if nature, deſigning this Iſle of Angleſey to be the ſeat of ſovereignty, had ſtretched this arm of mountains, ſecured behind by theſe waters, to cover that neck of land where the Iſle is ſituated, and conſequently to be a wall and bulwark to it; ſo we find *that* very uſe to have been made of all the defiles and openings that give paſſage through that ridge of mountains, which as ſo many gates and avenues to come thro' them to this iſland, have been all ſtrongly fortified with caſtles, towers and forts: As *Diganwy*-caſtle at the great opening at *Conway*; *Caer Rhun* at the paſs of *Bwlch y ddau faen*, with a fort below at *Aber*; *Dol y felen* caſtle, and a watch-tower at *Nant Ffrankon*; *Dol Badarn*-caſtle at *Nant Peris*; *Cedom*-caſtle or fort at *Nant taly llyn*. And in the other broad paſs from Merionyddſhire at *Traeth Mawr*, they had two ſtrong caſtles, viz. *Harllech* on the one ſide of the bay, and *Criccieth* on the other, with a watch-tower at *Caſtle Gyfarch*, and a fort at *Dolbenmaen*. All which are demonſtrations that the Iſle of Angleſey and part of Caernarvonſhire, for the ſafety of which, all theſe paſſes were ſo ſtrongly guarded, was on the firſt retreat of the Britons into Wales, choſe to be the prime refuge in caſe of diſtreſs, and the chief ſeat of their monarchy. For we find *Cadfan* the grandſon of *Rhun* (his ſon *Beli ap Rhun* dying young) to have reſided at *Caer Segont*, now *Caernarvon*; where alſo *Cadwallo*, *Cadfan*'s ſon, who was ſo great a ſcourge to the Saxons, and his ſon *Cadwaladr*, the laſt of the Britiſh monarchs, ſucceſſively reſided. The great ſafety and ſecurity of the place, and the plenty of proviſions which it afforded (the other parts of Wales being then frequently the ſeats of war, and therefore poor and uncultivated) induced theſe warlike princes to ſettle *here* their courts and families, while they themſelves purſued their wars; either annoying their enemies, as *Cadfan* and *Cadwallo* frequently did with great ſlaughter, or defending their own territories. And the reaſon that the latter of theſe princes removed the Britiſh court from Angleſey, where *Caſwallon law-hir* had firſt fixed it, to Caernarvonſhire, was, I confeſs, becauſe the Iriſh and Pictiſh rovers were then very troubleſome to the coaſts, againſt whom the iſland was leſs defenſible than the borders of Caernarvonſhire. But afterwards the royal ſeat was reſtored to the iſland, and continued in it at *Aberffraw* during all the time of the Britiſh princes.

Now in relation to church affairs within this period; as we have left this Iſle at the latter end of the laſt period in the free and full enjoyment of the Chriſtian faith, under its own biſhop, if we will believe the

the recited account of *Cebius* and St. *Hilary* of Poictiers; or at leaſt, as part of the North-Wales dioceſe, under one of the ſeven biſhops of the Cambrian province, wherever his ſeat, if he had any endowed, was placed; ſo by all the accounts that appear, the faith and doctrine here profeſſed and taught, continued pure and apoſtolical for a great part of this ſecond period; when at length the Romiſh dregs, brought over by Auſtin the monk, crept here, and in a great meaſure corrupted the primitive ſoundneſs and integrity of it; but never to ſuch a degree as in the other parts of the nation. For many of the Romiſh errors, then and after introduced into the Britiſh church and nation by the ſubtilty of Rome, were never embraced by the people and clergy of North-Wales, as appears not only by their rejecting that grand injunction of an unmarried prieſthood—their clergy, as well regular as ſecular, being commonly married all along, and thought expedient to be connived at, and reckoned *pro vitio Gentis*, as a peculiar fault of this people; but alſo by their quick and unanimous embracing the doctrines of their ancient faith, of which they retained many remains amongſt them, when the reformation reſtored them to the liberty of re-aſſuming and cloſing with their primitive principles, of which they have given remarkable ſpecimens, in their loyalty to their kings, and in their adherence to their biſhops, againſt all oppoſition, even to this day.

This infraction by monk Auſtin and his confederates on the doctrine, rights and privileges of our Britiſh church, which happened near the middle of this period, was reſolutely withſtood by all our Britiſh clergy; who till then generally reſided together in conventual fraternities, under their heads and biſhops; perhaps after the example the Druidiſh prieſts had left them; heathen politics, founded upon reaſon and virtue, not unbecoming Chriſtian practice: And which way of living contributed not a little to the good ſucceſs they had, by their united counſels and labours, againſt the then growing encroachments of their adverſaries. The Britiſh nobles here, however ſpotted in their lives and morals, as angry Gildas unmercifully upbraids them, yet as men of principles ſhewed zeal and vigour in the cauſe. Nay their very bards employed their talent that way, as we find *Talieſin*, *Maelgwn*'s Poet Laureat *, even at Auſtin's firſt coming (for he could not be alive much longer) denouncing woe on ſuch of the clergy as were remiſs in their duty, and neglected any part of it, in ſo perilous a time; when, with

* Of this we have no proof.

their

their temporal, their ſpiritual rights were in danger of being made a prey to the avarice and rapine of unjuſt invaders.

Gwae'r offeiriad byd, nis anghreifftia gwyd
Ac nis Pregetha.
Gwae ni cheidw ei Gail, ac ef yn fugail
Ac nis areilia:
Gwae ni cheidw ei ddefaid, rhag Bleiddie Rhifeuniaid
Ai ffon gnwppa.

(i. e.)

* Woe be to the prieſt that's born,
Who will not duly weed his corn,
And root away the tares;
Woe to the ſhepherd that's remiſs
In watching of his flock, and is
Unfaithful in his cares;
Woe be to him that doth not keep,
With's crooked ſtaff, his harmleſs ſheep
From Romiſh wolves and ſnares.

All this they performed with good ſucceſs while they continued together in united ſocieties; but after that fatal blow at *Bangor iſcoed*, where the flower of our clergy were killed on the ſpot, and the remainder of them diſperſed up and down the countries; the poor church indeed for ſome time ſtruggled, but like a conſumptive body, whoſe vitals were impaired, it ſtaggered at laſt, and was forced to give way to corruption and ruin; under which (like the woman in the wilderneſs) ſhe groaned, but yet was fed and kept alive for ſome hundreds of years. Their brethren likewiſe in Cornwal reſiſted the Romiſh uſurpation much longer than the reſt of the Britons, till about the year of our Lord 905, when king Edward the Elder, with the pope's conſent, ſettled a biſhop's ſee among them at St. Germains, and placed one Ædulphus to be their firſt biſhop; who with his ſucceſſors, by the pope's power then greatly prevailing, in a ſhort time reduced them, much againſt their

* This triplet is wrong: The original literally means,
Woe to the worldly prieſt,
Who neither checks vice,
Nor preaches.

will,

will, to ſubmit their ancient faith to the conduct of papal diſcipline, as moſt of the Britons were before forced to do.

At the time of this maſſacre, which happened in the year 603, we may date the firſt beginning of the downfall of our Britiſh churches, and of the erecting thereon our long bondage and ſlavery under the uſurpation of Rome, with all the errors and innovations that uſurped dominion then opened a way to, or brought along with it; though a noble ſtand was made for a conſiderable time by the remains of the Britiſh clergy, under the zealous encouragement of their own, and the propitious favour and countenance alſo of ſome of the Saxon princes (ſo forcible is truth as even to make ſometimes our enemies befriend us) till at laſt the ancient orthodox apoſtolical churches in Britain (their clergy being now ſeparated, and their princes becoming divided in their intereſts) by an unaccountable diſpoſal of Providence, were all ſwallowed up in the Romiſh gulph; and, ſorely againſt their wills, were forced to ſubmit to lordly Auſtin and his train of foreign metropolitans; who, as they had diſſeized us of our rights and privileges, ſo they warped and corrupted our faith ſoon after, with all the innovations and errors they thought fit to impoſe upon us.

At this diſperſion of the Britiſh clergy alſo, began the erection and eſtabliſhing of Parochial Cures, and the building of our country churches.

This diſtribution of dioceſes into pariſhes or diſtinct miniſterial cures in England, is attributed to archbiſhop *Honorius*, who lived indeed about the ſame time that this diſtribution happened with us. But in the Britiſh churches at that time his injunctions could be of no force; and therefore we muſt aſcribe this procedure rather to a hard fate, and the neceſſity of the times which required in the clergy a greater vigilance, and *that* a more near attendance to their flocks when ſuch wolves were gaping for them; or laſtly and moſt immediately, it may be aſcribed to their having at that time their general rendezvous or college at *Bangor iſcoed* broke up and ruined by the barbarous Saxons, on the inſtigation of monk Auſtin, as it is too much to be ſuſpected.

But however that was, of which we have only probable circumſtances to gueſs by; we are ſure that greater numbers of the diſſipated clergy, juſt after that inhuman butchery, reſorted to the Iſle of Angleſey, than did to any other part of Wales of twice its dimenſions. For if we reckon the number of prieſts that then flocked into it, by the number of churches and pariſhes, which were then or a little while after erected and eſtabliſhed in this iſland, we ſhall find them to exceed by much, what

what came to any other country in North-Wales. For by that eſtimate we may obſerve in Angleſey ſeventy-four pariſhes, which we have reaſon to believe, are as old as that time; and therefore we may reckon as many of thoſe prieſts to have come and reſided in it; whereas Caernarvonſhire, which is almoſt twice as large, has but ſixty-eight; Montgomeryſhire almoſt thrice as large, has but forty-ſeven; Denbighſhire more than twice as large, has but fifty-ſeven; Flintſhire only twenty-eight; and Merionyddſhire thirty-ſeven pariſhes; and conſequently but ſo many prieſts that came and ſettled in them. Which ſerves to ſhew that the ſecurity and fertility of the place invited then many more of the clergy to make their abodes in this iſland, than in any part of North-Wales. And yet we may further obſerve from this reckoning, that the whole number of the retreated clergy, if counted by pariſhes, was but three hundred and eleven. And if half the number of them that lived in that convent were clergymen, it well may be preſumed that not only all Wales, but alſo a good part of England, might have their congregations ſerved by miniſters out of this monaſtry. But it is very probable that many of them were lay-monks, giving themſelves to prayers and abſtinence, and young ſtudents with officers and ſervants that took care of ſerving the houſe, and of collecting and managing the church's revenue, their whole number being about two thouſand.

Indeed a little before this Parochial diſtribution happened, we find a college at *Bangor* in Caernarvonſhire, probably in imitation of that at *Iſcoed*, erected by *Daniel* the ſon of *Dionothus*, abbot of the former: And another a little after that, by *Beuno*, at a place called *Clynnoc*, in the ſame county. That at *Bangor* was made a biſhopric by prince *Maelgwn*, and the ſaid *Daniel* conſecrated biſhop thereof by *Dubricius*, archbiſhop of *Caerleon*. But the other at *Clynnoc*, having no biſhop, but a *Præfectus Monachorum* or abbot preſiding over it, continued only a place of education and literature, as many other places in Wales in thoſe days were; where religion was profeſſed after the manner of the Eaſt, and young men trained up to the biſhop's hands to fill up the vacancies of the Parochial clergy, as I may now call them.

Now as to the building of theſe Parochial churches; it was then the cuſtom of ſome of the moſt eminent of the clergy, biſhops, abbots and the like, to travel, accompanied with ſome of their Preſbyters, to the lords and great ones of the land, making ſmall preſents to them (as *Beuno* did to king *Cadfan* at *Caer Segont* of a little golden ſceptre) for their aſſiſtance and encouragement to build thoſe cells or cloiſters, which

are now our churches; and when that was done, to place one of their prieſts or diſciples to reſide there, and to perform in the diſtrict the duties requiſite to his place and function. Thus biſhop *Aidan*, *Ffinnan* and *Beuno* did in this iſland; whoſe names are borne on ſome of our churches, as well as in other places, to this day.

But for a more particular account of ſome of our churches in the Iſle of Angleſey, and of the patrons or firſt builders of them, by what records we have yet remaining, after our eccleſiaſtical hiſtories written by *Dubricius*, *Tyſilio* and *Twrog* were all loſt, be pleaſed to take what followeth.

Beuno was the ſon of *Bovagius* or *Beugi*, who was grandſon of *Cadell Deyrnllyg*, a noted perſon in his time, and prince in *Powys-Land*. He built two cells or churches in this iſland; the one at *Aberffraw*, the other at *Trefdraeth*: And had ſeveral lands and townſhips in this iſland given by ſeveral perſons to his houſe or monaſtry at *Clynnoc*.

Aidan, or *Ædan*, was the ſon of *Gabranus* or *Gwrwyw*, who was grandſon of *Vrien Reged*, prince of *Regedia* in the North. But whether *Aidan* the king (who was this I mention) or *Aidan* the biſhop, called *Aidan Foeddog* of *Columcil* and biſhop of *Landisfern*, gave the name to the church of *Llan Ædan*, is not certain; but probably the latter: Becauſe *Ffinnan*, whoſe name is on a church in the neighbourhood of the other, was the latter *Aidan*'s diſciple, and ſucceeded him in his biſhopric; and to accompany the good work of his maſter *Aidan*, he might have the other church built in his own name, called *Llanffinan*.

Daniel, who had a church near that of *Llan Ædan*, was ſon of *Daniel* firſt biſhop of *Bangor*, and therefore the church is commonly called *Llanddeniel fâb*.

Peirio, *Gallgo*, *Egruad*, *Maelog*, *Caffo*, were ſons of one *Caw*, commonly called *Caw O Frydain*, and have their churches in this iſland. And their ſiſter *Cuillog*, a daughter of the ſaid *Caw*, built her a cloiſter here, which became afterwards one of our churches, called *Llangwillog*.

Ceidio, *Ane* and *Aiddan Foeddog* before-mentioned, were the ſons of another *Caw*, called *Caw Cowllog*; and had their churches at *Rhodwydd Ceidio* and *Coed Ane*, and the laſt, as I gueſſed before, at *Llan Ædan*.

Credifael and *Ffflewin* were the ſons of *Ithel Hael*, a nobleman of *Armorica* or *Little-Britain*; they had their cells or churches at *Penmynydd* and *Llanfflewin*.

Peulan was the ſon of *Palken* of the Iſle of Man, which ſince the time of *Maelgwyn Gwynedd*, was in the poſſeſſion of the *Venedotian* Britons.

And

Fig: 1.

...C : IMCCES : SMNSVS . RESSINVS : CV . . WEN LL . . . . . N . . . . . F . . . . . MB : M . . . . . OC : ES : GRVPPVS : MP : GMLVM : SPSVIS : IN : OBLMCCOEM : ISSMM : IMMGN EM : P : SML VS : B : MNIMRVM : S

Fig: 2.

On the Edge of the Stone above the Head of the Effigy in Large Letters.

NIAJMAET GRYRRVT MPGWILEM

Then on a circular label on your left Hand of the Head.

MNIMSMRVM:S

Then on a circular label on the other side.

NA M:P:SMNLVTA

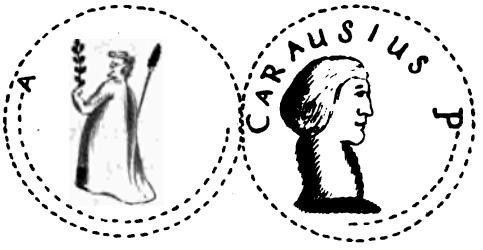
On another label.

$\overline{SCB}$

IPFVM.

And some broken Letters on the Crook.

Fig: 3.



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And *Gwenfaen*, the daughter of the ſaid *Palken*, had her cloiſter at *Rhoſcolin*; which after became a pariſh church called *Llan Gwenfaen*, as her brother's cloiſter was called *Llan Beulan*.

Kynfarwy was the ſon of *Awy ap Llebenog*, a lord of Cornwal, whoſe church was at *Llech Gynfarwy*.

Tyſilio was one of the ſons of the famous *Brychfael Yſcythrog*, who fought the Saxons when the maſſacre was committed by them on our clergymen near *Bangor is-coed*. He is ſaid to have written an eccleſiaſtical Britiſh hiſtory, whereof ſome fragments have been lately ſeen, but are now loſt; his cloiſter or church was at *Llandyſilio*.

Enghenel was grandſon of the ſaid *Brychfael Yſcythrog*; his church at *Llan Enghenel*.

Criſtiolus was the ſon of *Owen ap Yner*, a nobleman of *Armorica* or *Little-Britain*; his church was at *Llangriſtiolus*.

Dond was another grandſon of *Brychfael Yſcythrog*; his church at *Llanddona*.

Cyngar, *Ieſtin*, and the before-mentioned *Caw Cowllog*, father of *Ceidio*, *Ane*, and *Aiddan Foeddawg*, were the ſons of *Gerinnius* or *Geraint*, who was grandſon of *Conſtantine* duke of Cornwal, the ſucceſſor of king *Arthur*. This *Geraint* being admiral of the Britiſh fleet, and having thereby occaſion of harbouring ſometimes in this iſland, it is probable he cauſed the church of *Pentraeth* to be built, called *Llanfair Bettws Geraint*; *Cyngar* and *Ieſtin* had their churches at *Llangefni* and *Llanieſtin*.

This *Cyngar* had, beſides the place to build his church upon, a townſhip beſtowed upon him and his cloiſter for ever, whoſe freeholds are to this day held *de Sancto Cyngaro*. And they pretend to ſhew the grave of *Ieſtin*, at his church in *Llanieſtin*, with an odd intricate ſort of an inſcription upon his tomb-ſtone. See plate VIII. fig. 1.

Note, In reading this inſcription, the letter *M* muſt be taken for *A*. which is the greateſt difficulty. *R* is both *Y* and *R*. *Reſtinus* is *Rex Yeſtinus*.

Which I read thus *, *Hic jacet Sanctus Rex Yeſtinus, cui Wenllian ——— F ——— ap Madoc, & Gryffyth ap Gwilim obtulerunt in oblationem iſtam imaginem pro ſalute beata Animarum ſuarum.*

* This inſcription is a mere fiction; neither the letters on the plate, nor the words here read being to be found on the ſtone at *Llanieſtin*; though it is plain by the words *Gryffut ap Gwilym* and *Animarum ſ.* the ſame ſtone is meant. The truth of the matter is this. The tomb-ſtone at *Llanieſtin* is a curious piece of workmanſhip. It is the effigy of a man in a ſacerdotal habit, whence we may conclude, that it is the tomb of ſome abbot. The true inſcription is inſerted under the falſe one in plate VIII. fig. 2. The church is dedicated to St. *Catharine*, whoſe picture is elegantly painted on the glaſs of the Eaſt window.

☞ The ſtone has the portraiture of a man in a ſacerdotal habit, about which the inſcription is cut; by the letter it appears that the tomb-ſtone and the portraiture were ſet there ſome ages after the interment.

Seiriol and *Meirion*, the ſons of *Owen Danwyn*, the ſon of *Eneon Urdd ap Cynedda Weledig* and brothers of *Eneon Frenhin*, had their cells, the one at *Penmon* and *Prieſtholm* Iſle, and the other at *Llan Feirion*. Their elder brother, *Eneon* the prince, choſe the ſeat of his cloiſter in *Llyn*, at a place called to this day *Llan Eneon Frenhin*; an inſcription on the ſteeple of which church mentions their father by the name of *AIVINI ODINI*, and that *Eneon* built it.

Which inſcription is thus to be read, *Lux totoi* [i. e. *Toti Genti*] *Aivini Odini, mihi, imo Eccleſiæ illi, Jeſus eſt; Ut cameant* [i. e. *caveant*] *ſui vivere ad Jedicen* [i. e. *Judicem*] *æternum: Iſtam* [i. e. *Eccleſiam*] *Eneanus, Rex Walliæ fabricavit.* See plate IX. fig. 1.

Note, That the letters in this inſcription ſeem ſo old as the ſeventh or eighth century *. The Latin of it ſavours of the corrupt vulgar Latin which the Romans had a little before left among us. It was very uſual for one letter to bear a part in the formation of the other, next adjoining, in theſe old inſcriptions.

Patricius or *Patrick*, a *Stradcluid-Briton*, being ſent by Cœleſtine biſhop of Rome, to convert the Iriſh; and on his way to Ireland, viſiting St. *Elian* in Angleſey, cauſed a church to be built on the water-ſide, where he took ſhipping, called *Llanbadric*.

Cybi the ſon of *Selyf* or *Solomon*, ſon of the before-mentioned *Geraint*, and Nephew to *Cyngar* and *Leſtin*, built the church of *Holy-Head*; and as ſome write was appointed biſhop of Angleſey: But the time that this *Cybi* lived in does not favour that opinion.

Elian Cannaid, our Britiſh Hilary, was the ſon of *Alltyd Rhedegawg*, who was grandſon of *Cadrod Calchſynydd* earl of Dunſtable; he built his cloiſter at *Llan Elian*, to whom *Caſwallon law-hir* gave many lands and franchiſes about that church, which are held in his name by the freeholders of them to this day.

Mechell or *Macutus*, as in the Roman kalendar, was the ſon of one *Echwyd*, the ſon of *Gwyn*, who was grandſon of *Gloyw gwlad lydan*, lord of Glouceſter, in the time of the Saxon maſſacre at *Stonehenge*. He was made biſhop of St. *Maloe*'s in *Little-Britain*. His church or

* The true characters of this inſcription are repreſented in plate IX. fig. 2.

Fig: 1.

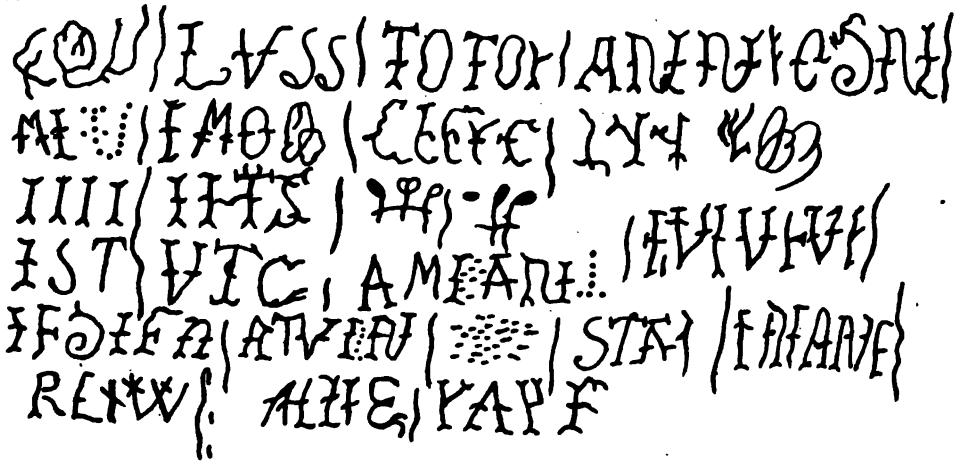


Fig: 2.

LVSS TOTOI

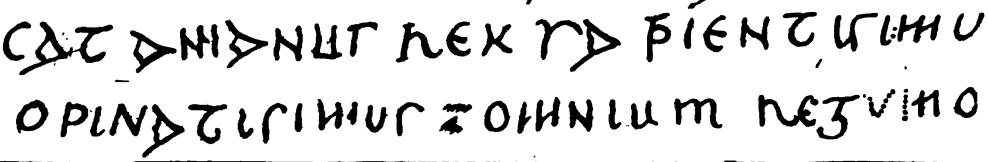
REX WALLIE

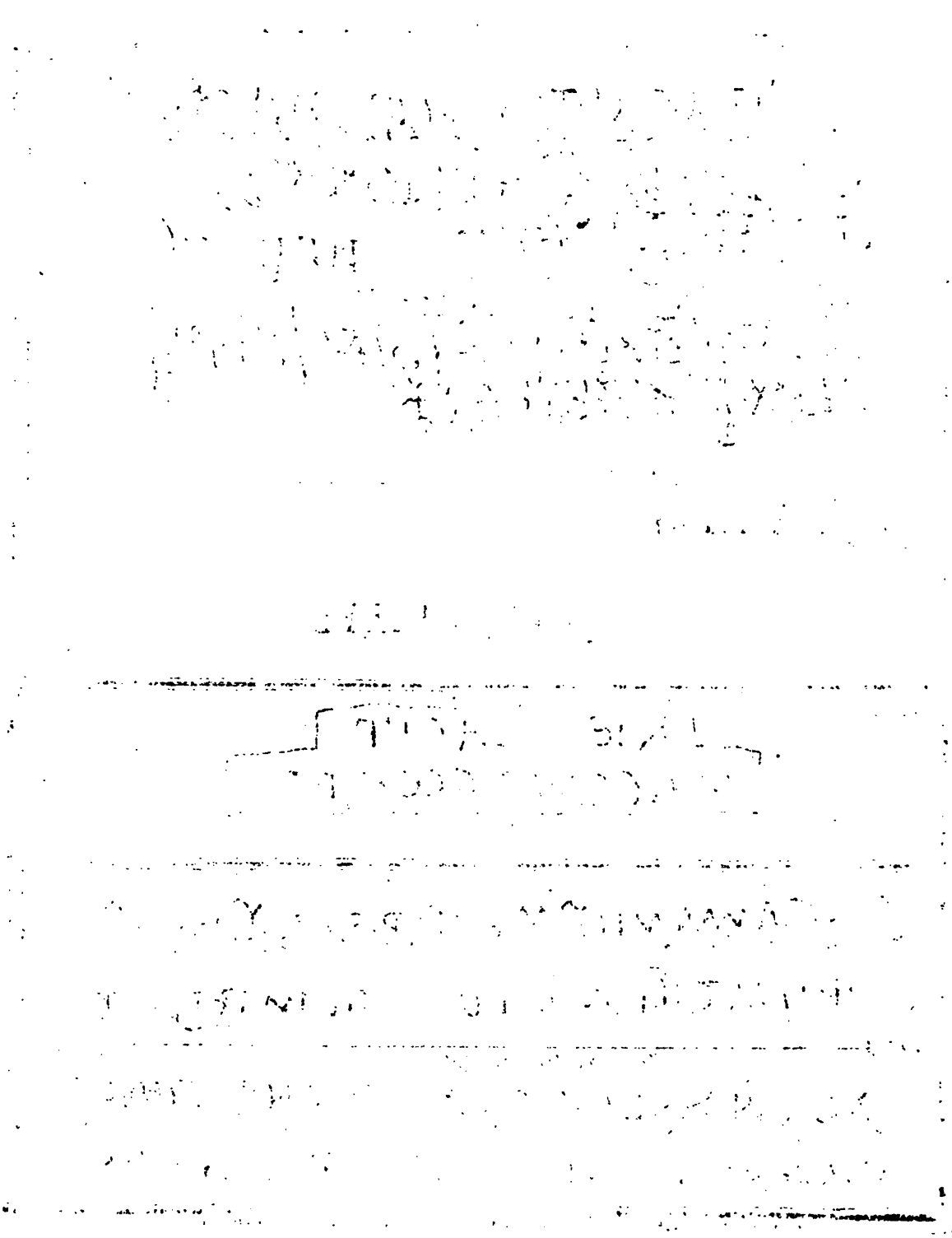
Fig: 3.

Fig: 4.

CACAMANIIP Y EXTAPIENCIΓIWUΓ
OPINATIΓIWUY OMNIUMREZUM

This is the true Inscription.





cloiſter was called from his name *Llanfechell.* He died it ſeems in the Iſle of Angleſey, and was buried not at his own church, but at a neighbouring church called *Penrhôs Lligwy*, in whoſe church-yard there is an old faſhioned grave-ſtone with an inſcription, which by the form of the letters ſeems to be genuine. See plate IX. fig. 3.

Tegfan was grandſon of *Cadrod Calchfynydd*, and uncle of *Elian*. His cell or church was at *Llandegfan*. Here one *Tydecho* alſo had his cloiſter, which ſtill remains; and he is by ſome reckoned the patron ſaint of the place.

Rhuddlad, a daughter of a king of *Leinſter* in Ireland (the religious devotees of Wales and Ireland having then much communication) came over here and built her a cloiſter at *Llan Rhuddlad*; as alſo did *Rhwydrys*, the ſon of *Rhwydrim* or *Rhodrem* king of *Connaught*, at the ſame time, and built his cloiſter at *Llan Rhwydrys*; both which became afterwards pariſh churches.

King *Cadwaladr*, the laſt Britiſh crowned head, ordered a church to be built here, which was called *Llan Gadwaladr*. There is over the South door a large flat ſtone, not unlike a grave-ſtone, with the inſcription in plate IX. fig. 4.

Which inſcription is thus to be read,

Catamanus Rex ſapientiſſimus opimatiſſimus omnium Regum.

The ſaid *Catamanus* or *Cadfan*, who was grandfather of king *Cadwaladr*, is ſaid to be buried in the iſle of *Bardſey*; where a great cloiſter of religious men at that time flouriſhed, and where many of the Britiſh princes and nobles were interred. But by this inſcription it may ſeem probable that the ſaid *Cadfan* was buried in this place; where his grandſon built this church, and endowed it as one of the ſanctuaries of this iſland.

Tyfrydog was the ſon of *Arwyſtle Glôff*, who was ſon of *Owen Danwyn*, ſon of *Eneon Urdd*, ſon of *Cynedda Weledig*. He built his church at *Llandyfrydog*; which church *Giraldus Cambrenſis* makes mention of, and of a memorable accident that happened in it in his time.

Dwynwen and *Ceinwen* were daughters of one *Brychanus* or *Brychan*, who had many ſons and daughters that were devoted to religion; *Quibus paſſim per Cambro-Britanniam* (ſays the mentioned *Giraldus Cambrenſis* of the children of this *Brychan*) *Templa Divorum ac Divarum Nomine inſcribuntur*; of whom theſe two had their cloiſters in this iſland, which

came

came afterwards to be the churches of *Llanddwyn* and *Llan Geinwen*, and their brother *Dyfnan* had his church in *Llanddyfnan*.

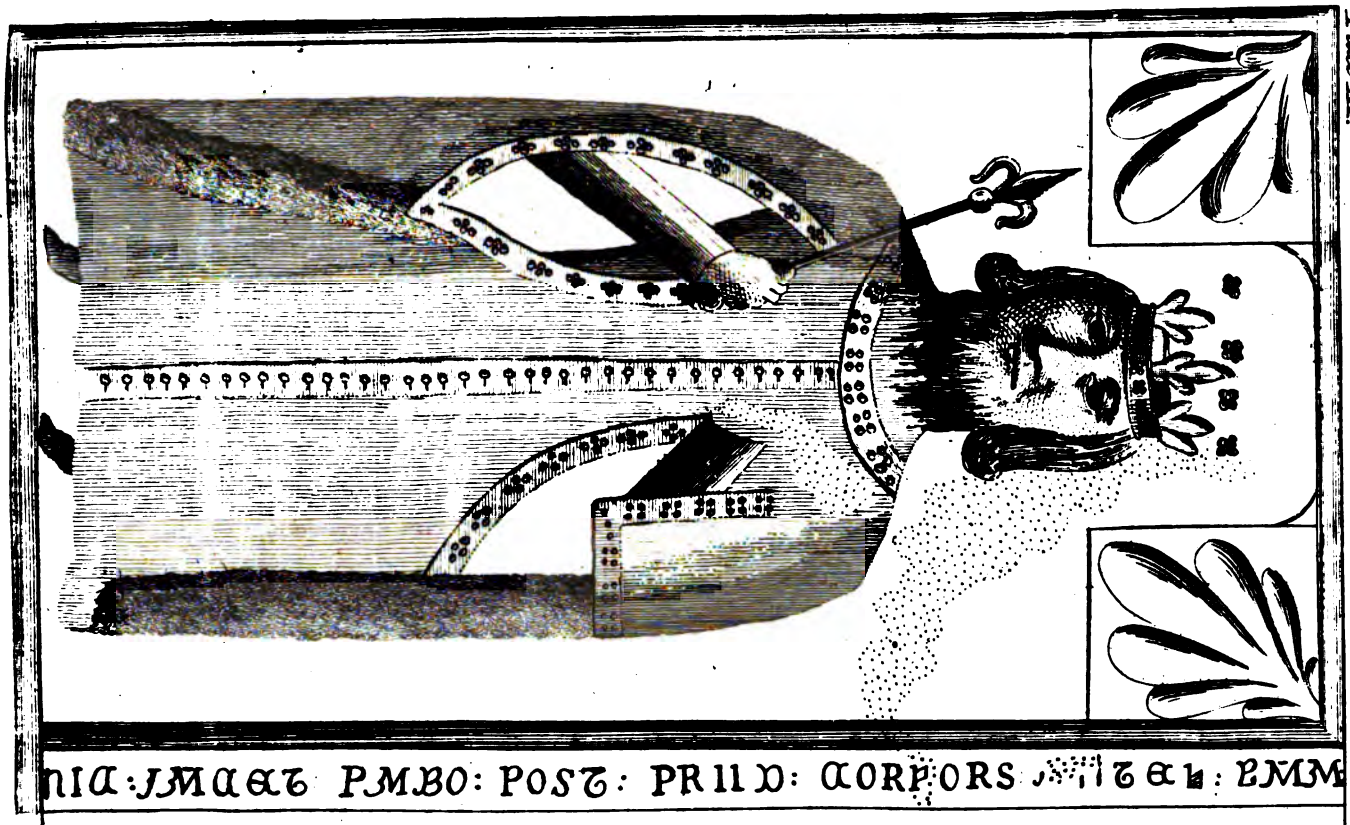
Pabo, frequently called *Poſt Prydain*, i. e. the Support of Britain, for his great valour againſt the Picts and Scots, retired here, and built his church at *Llan Babo* *. He was the ſon of *Arthrwys*, ſon of *Mor*, ſon of *Cenau*, ſon of *Coel Godhebog*, or hawk-faced, grandfather of *Conſtantine* the Great. This *Pabo* of all the patron ſaints of this iſland, ſeems to have been the higheſt in time, and next him St. *Elian*.

Edwen Santes or *Edwen* the *Holy* is ſuppoſed to have been of Saxon extraction, either daughter or niece of *Edwin* king of Northumberland, who had his education at *Cadfan*'s court in *Caer Segont*; if ſo, then a near kinſwoman or ſiſter of the famous *Hilda*, who managed the diſputé with biſhop *Wilfrid* about the feaſt of Eaſter. She had her cloiſter at *Llan Edwen*, which became afterwards a pariſh-church.

Many other churches there are in the Iſle of Angleſey, of whoſe founders or patron-names I can give no account. And many others we find dedicated to ſcripture-names, St. Peter, the Bleſſed Virgin, and to St. Michael the archangel, which probably were long before built by laymen, and uſed by the firſt Chriſtians. Some alſo of theſe churches retained the appellations of the places they were ſituated in, as *Llangefni*, *Tregaian*, *Amlwch*, *Cerrig Ceinwen*, &c. But the far greater number bear on them the names of ſuch prieſts, as were themſelves founders of them, or at leaſt of ſuch prieſts as were placed in them by thoſe holy men and women who were founders, and had probably lived in them before, as theſe prieſts might live in them for ſome while after, as in habitations of ſelect privacy and retirement. For, according to the uſage of thoſe days, as well the perſons dwelling, as the places they lived in, were equally conſigned and dedicated to God. And indeed by what remains now to be ſeen of our moſt ancient buildings, it ſeems the form of our very houſes at thoſe times and that of our churches was much the ſame; the fronts of them being always to the South-Eaſt, having great windows in them opening that way, juſt as our churches have; which may render it probable that our churches here were originally dwelling-houſes, but by being dedicated to God and religion became ſacred cells and cloiſters; wherein nothing hindred but that holy devout men might as well live as officiate, for ſome time. And

* His tomb-ſtone was diſcovered in the church-yard, about the time of Charles the Second, by the ſexton in digging a grave. It is a ſoft ſtone of the nature of a ſlate—not of the produce of Angleſey. It lay about ſix feet under ground—and the characters are in baſs relievo. See plate X.

we



HIC IACET PABO POST PRUD CORPORS [illegible] PRIMA

It is to be read thus

HIC IACET PABO POST PRUD CORPORS [illegible] PRIMA

we have reaſon to believe they did ſo here, as well as in Ireland, where the cells of their *Culdees* *, became their churches, which retain on them that name to this day; as *Cel-Manoc*, *Cel-Kenny*, *Cel-Ala*. Nay, the Iriſh attribute to every church, anſwering our *Llan*, is *Cel* or *Cil*; which is a ſufficient argument that they were *Cells* at firſt, where holy men and women, retiring from the world, ſpent their days in the ſervice and worſhip of God.

And this may be one reaſon why we find ſo many of our churches built in obſcure corners and ſolitary places and peninſulas; as if theſe Britiſh *Culdees* conſulted more their own retiredneſs and ſolitarineſs of living, than the conveniencies of their congregations, in their chooſing the ſites of their cells and churches. And truly, I think, there are few of our churches but diſcover ſomething of ſingularity in their ſituations tending that way; having commonly wells of clear water nigh them, with ſome traditional-ſtory, and other remarks preſerved among the inhabitants, betokening the ſolitary aſcetic lives of the founders and firſt poſſeſſors of them. I cannot omit obſerving here, for the more credit to our Britiſh records before-mentioned, which are the genealogy of our Britiſh ſaints, of which we have yet many copies left, that ſome of theſe inſcriptions I have taken and now exemplified, ſeem to conciliate and to give good evidence of the truth of thoſe memoirs; as *Catamanus* at *Llangadwaladr*, of *Cadfan*'s being a near relation of king *Cadwaladr*, over whoſe burying-place he built that church: As *Macutii Ecceti* at *Penrhos Lligwy*, of *Mechell*'s being ſon of *Echwyd*, juſt as the genealogy has it. And as *Aivini Odini*, i. e. *Owain Danwyn* at *Llan Eneon* in *Llyn*, of being *Eneon*'s anceſtor, whom the ſaid genealogy makes to be his father. Note, That inſcriptions are allowed to be great confirmations of hiſtory among all nations, and may ſerve here as good proof of the authenticity of the ſaid records.

Now the clergy having in this manner ſeparated and diſperſed themſelves into ſettled habitations, over all the countries of North-Wales, there was now a neceſſity of altering their fund and manner of ſubſiſtence. Their maintenance before was ſupported by the tithes and oblations of the people, but then paid in common to the church's uſe, and annually collected by her officers. But when the clergy were neceſſitated to retire from the rage of the Saxons, and by the aſſiſtance of

* *Culdees*, rightly called *Keledei*, from the original Iriſh or ancient Scottiſh word *Ceile-De*, ſignifying *ſeparated* or *eſpouſed to God*, were an order of lay religious monks or preſbyters, governed by an abbot or head choſen from among themſelves.

good

good and devout patriots to eſtabliſh themſelves in particular abodes, to perform the duties of their function, their right to the ſame maintenance, which was before in common, became now to be particularly claimed. And to fix and eſtabliſh that, no more was now required, when theſe cells were built, and prieſts reſided in them, than for ſo many neighbouring inhabitants as ſubmitted themſelves to the ſpiritual care of one diſtinct paſtor then living with them, to pay to the ſaid paſtor in particular all their tithes and other eccleſiaſtical emoluments, and obliging themſelves and poſterity ſo to do (the ſmaller diviſions of land being before that time under diſtinct bounds and limits) theſe diviſions of townſhips, hamlets, and parcels of land, which the then aſſociated inhabitants poſſeſſed, became in an inſtant ſo many diſtinct pariſhes, and continued ſo (we bleſs God for it) to this day.

But though they be now pariſhes, as at firſt, yet they continued not to be reſidential cures, but for a ſhort time after. For as the piety and devotion of people ſlackened, their oblations conſequently diminiſhed, and the tithes became too ſmall and inconſiderable to ſupport a prieſt in every pariſh. So that they were reduced to a neceſſity of conjoining more or leſs of theſe pariſhes and their churches into one reſidential cure under one incumbent; and by that means the incumbents were made able to obtain or purchaſe glebes, and to build them houſes to live in, to attend their cures; while the houſe of God, which before, it ſeems, afforded them habitation, was now wholly employed to be what it ſhould have always been, viz. the houſe of prayer.

The want of knowing or juſtly weighing this affair, has betrayed the well-meaning zeal of a late worthy * prelate into a miſtake, in reckoning theſe annexed Parochial chapels in Angleſey to be ſo many reſidential cures; for without that they could not be non-reſidences. And indeed what they are, they have continued to be for ſeveral hundreds of years; and are like to do for ever, unleſs the ſame zeal and piety which at firſt made them a ſort of reſidences, reinſtate them again; and the ſame benevolence and bounty return again to ſupport and cheriſh the incumbents of them. The want of which we may be allowed to lament and expoſtulate; but have very ſmall hopes of ever ſeeing that day, when all our Parochial chapels in Angleſey will become but competently endowed benefices; which benefices, with their chapels annexed, now for many ages have been what they called reſidential cures.

* Biſhop Kenn's Catalogue of Non-Reſidences.

One

One thing more I muſt here take notice of before I diſmiſs this particular—and that is, the deplorable account another angry clergyman, viz. the Britiſh Gildas, gives us of the ſtate of the Britiſh church; and the diſmal character he beſtows (being himſelf one) on many of the clergy of it, in an age abounding with ſo many ſaints, and ſo full of piety and devotion, as we may well preſume that age was, wherein ſo great and extraordinary acts both of piety and devotion were done, as all that I have before-mentioned, amounted to. To which, becauſe it may appear to give ſome handle of objection againſt what I have laid down before, I ſhall briefly reply,

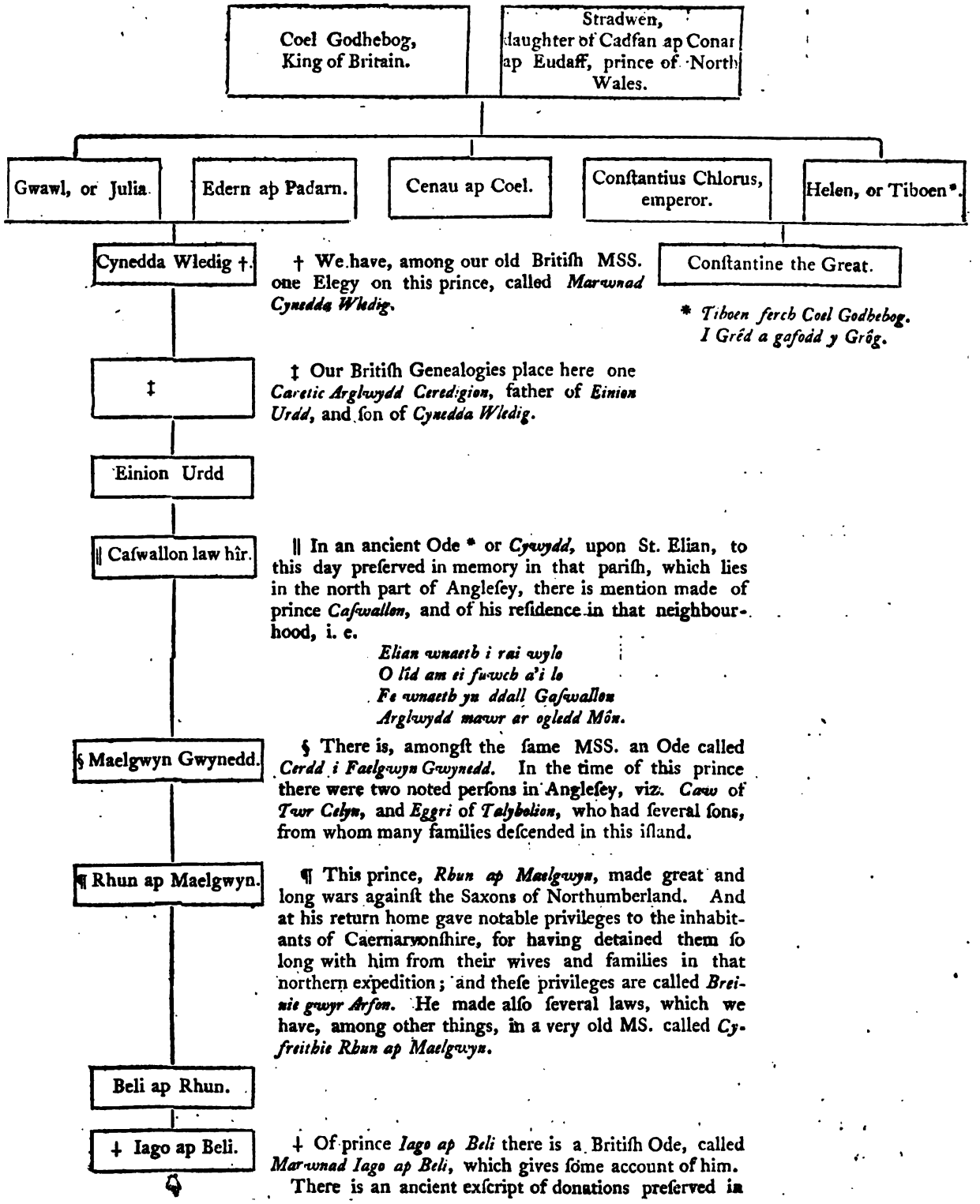
FIRST, The charge of Gildas is not general: he not only acquits, but extols the virtues of ſome of the paſtors of the Britiſh church in his time with his higheſt ſtrains of rhetoric.

SECONDLY, Though the tranſactions I mention happened about the ſame time that Gildas lived in and wrote his book; yet the one was before the other. Gildas wrote that ſatyr before Auſtin's coming; and then our clergy, when abroad from their ſeminary, generally reſided in princes' courts and in great mens' families, whence by their ſuperiors' directions they officiated in allotted diſtricts. In this caſe, I confeſs, they were under too great temptations to be all exemplarily good; and it is likely too many of them juſtly deſerved his laſh. But this caſe ſoon after altered with them: God purged his floor, and a great ſlaughter was made of them, which undoubtedly muſt needs purify the reſt. And the ſame ſtroke of Providence which ruined their plan of learning and knowledge, amended their lives, by taking them out of the luxuries of courts and families, and putting them to the auſterities of cells and cloiſters. And in this caſe only I apologize for them.

THIRDLY, Gildas, though a perſon of veracity and honeſty, yet ſacrificed his prudence to his zeal, and thought to reclaim the vices of the laity by expoſing thoſe of his brethren the clergy. But as it is too apparent, that though he deſigned well, he carried with him ſome tender point that had been one time or other too nearly touched by ſome of both parties; ſo an unaccountable temper in the conduct of his reſentments marred his good deſigns, and indeed diſ-reliſhed his work to the taſte of future ages. For the blemiſhes he is fond to expoſe are only perſonal, and no general characters can be drawn from them; at leaſt now when we conſider the men he levels at not as a Conventual, as they were when under his laſh, but as a Parochial clergy.

To return from the eccleſiaſtical to the civil affairs of this iſland. After king *Cadwaladr*'s death, who was the laſt crowned king of Britain of the Britiſh race, we remained ſome time under a ſort of ariſtocracy, till king *Cadwaladr*'s children returned from Armorica, whither they had retreated in the time of a great plague that raged here: Though ſome ſay *Bletricus* duke of Cornwal governed here in their abſence; from whoſe ſon's hands *Rhodri Molwynog* ſon of *Idwal Iwrch*, one of the ſons of king *Cadwaladr*, wreſted the government of the Cambrian Britons, and left two ſons after him, viz. *Conan Tyndaethwy*, born or nurſed in that part of Angleſey he took his name from, and *Howel*. From the firſt of whom, the line of the Welſh princes, who governed Wales for many generations after, took its origin. And therefore I ſhall here ſubjoin a Scheme of his deſcent from *Coel Godhebog*, in whom centered the united rights of many of the greateſt Britiſh monarchs. On which account the emperor *Conſtantius*, to ſecure himſelf on the Britiſh throne, by partaking in thoſe rights, took to wife his beautiful daughter *Tiboen*, called by the Romans *Helen*; who was mother of his ſon and ſucceſſor *Conſtantine* the Great. And his other daughter, *Gwawl* or *Julia*, was married to *Edern* the ſon of *Paternus*, a prince of the Britons in the northern parts, who was father, by the ſaid *Gwawl*, of *Cynedda Wledig*, or the Illuſtrious; from whoſe eldeſt ſon the ſovereign claim to the Britiſh ſceptre, after the failure here of the race of *Helen*, was conveyed, with what of their country they preſerved, to the ſucceeding Welſh princes.

Coel



† We have, among our old Britiſh MSS. one Elegy on this prince, called *Marwnad Cynedda Wledig*.

* *Tiboen ferch Coel Godhebog. I Gréd a gafodd y Grôg.*

‡ Our Britiſh Genealogies place here one *Caretic Arglwydd Ceredigion*, father of *Einion Urdd*, and ſon of *Cynedda Wledig*.

‖ In an ancient Ode * or *Cywydd*, upon St. Elian, to this day preſerved in memory in that pariſh, which lies in the north part of Angleſey, there is mention made of prince *Caſwallon*, and of his reſidence in that neighbourhood, i. e.

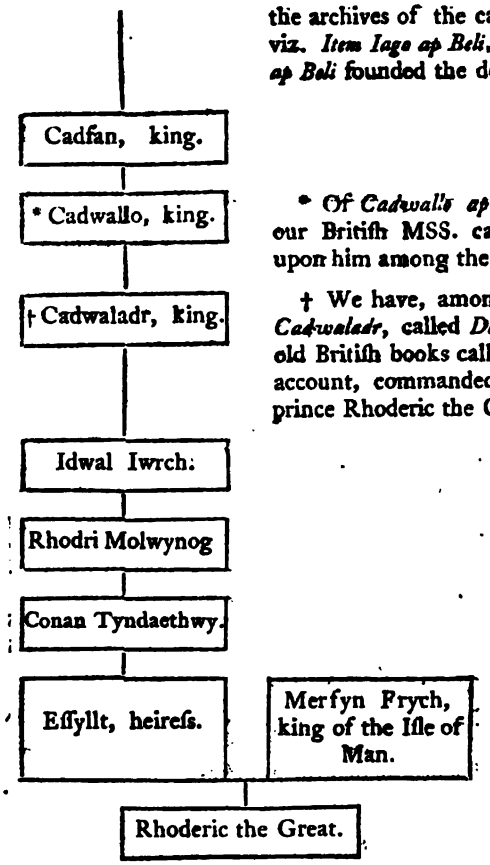
Elian wnaeth i rai wylo
O lîd am ei fuwch a'i lo
Fe wnaeth yn ddall Gaſwallon
Arglwydd mawr ar ogledd Môn.

§ There is, amongſt the ſame MSS. an Ode called *Cerdd i Faelgwyn Gwynedd*. In the time of this prince there were two noted perſons in Angleſey, viz. *Caw* of *Tŵr Celyn*, and *Eggri* of *Talybolion*, who had ſeveral ſons, from whom many families deſcended in this iſland.

¶ This prince, *Rhun ap Maelgwyn*, made great and long wars againſt the Saxons of Northumberland. And at his return home gave notable privileges to the inhabitants of Caernaryonſhire, for having detained them ſo long with him from their wives and families in that northern expedition; and theſe privileges are called *Breiniau gwyr Arfon*. He made alſo ſeveral laws, which we have, among other things, in a very old MS. called *Cyfreithie Rhun ap Maelgwyn*.

† Of prince *Iago ap Beli* there is a Britiſh Ode, called *Marwnad Iago ap Beli*, which gives ſome account of him. There is an ancient exſcript of donations preſerved in

* *Ode* is an *Owdl*, not *Cywydd*.



the archives of the cathedral of Bangor, which mentions this prince, viz. *Item Iago ap Beli, rex, decanatu eccleſiam dotavit*, i. e. "Prince *Iago ap Beli* founded the deanry of Bangor.

* Of *Cadwallo ap Cadfan* likewiſe we have an Ode or Elegy, among our Britiſh MSS. called *Marwnad Cadwallo ap Cadfan*; and another upon him among the Odes of *Llowarch hên*.

† We have, among the ſaid Britiſh MSS. a prophecy aſcribed to king *Cadwaladr*, called *Darogan Cadwaladr*. From the time of his reign the old Britiſh books called *Brut y Saiſon*, and *Brut y Tywyſogion*, begin their account, commanded to be continued and preſerved in monaſteries, by prince Rhoderic the Great.

Rhoderic the Great was prince of all Wales, and divided his dominions between his three elder ſons, *Anarawd*, *Cadell*, and *Merfyn*.

By this Scheme it will appear on the one ſide, that the *Cynethian* family (out of which our Britiſh princes derive their deſcent and right of ſovereignty) deſcended from *Coel Godhebog* king of Britain, whoſe ſon *Cenau*, the right heir, contenting himſelf with his father's patrimony in the North, gave up his right of ſovereignty to his ſiſter *Helen* or *Tiboen*, who was, as you ſee before, married to *Conſtantius Chlorus*, *Diocleſian*'s lieutenant, and afterwards emperor. So on the other ſide, we find partly out of Roman, and partly out of Britiſh hiſtory, that one *Aſclepiodotus* a Briton, brought up in the Roman camp, and a Prætorian Præfect, but by deſcent duke of Cornwal, having ſlain *Alectus*, and thereby merited and obtained the lieutenancy of Britain, was afterwards a revolter, and choſen by the Britons to be their crowned king and emperor. But this *Aſclepiodotus*, as the Romans called him, and by the Britons called *Brân ap Llyr*, being ſlain in bat-

tle by *Coel Godhebog*, who was likewiſe choſen king by the Britons, *Caradocus* the ſon of *Aſclepiodotus* was obliged to retire to North-Wales with his court and family, where his father's ſiſter * *Bronwen* died, and was buried on the bank of the river *Alaw* in Angleſey, whoſe monument I have lately ſeen, but is now defaced. *Caradocus* being dead, his ſon *Eudda* or *Eutha*, called by the Romans *Octavius*, having made his abode for a conſiderable time with his father at *Caer Segont*, as our manuſcripts mention, was at length recalled by *Conſtantine* the Great, and by him made governor of Britain.

This *Octavius*, by deſcent duke of Cornwal, being now put into that great authority, when he had well ſtrengthened himſelf in the power committed to him, made bold, as others had done before, to aſſume the ſovereignty to himſelf, and conſequently was crowned by his countrymen king of Britain. And being in that high ſtate, after ſome bickerings with the Romans, and conteſts with his nephew *Conan Meriadog*—born in North-Wales at a place of that name—for the right of ſovereignty, or at leaſt for the poſſeſſion of it; the ſaid *Octavius* thought it adviſeable in order to ſecure the throne to his own iſſue, to match his daughter *Helen* (born at *Caer Segont*, whoſe chapel is there to this day) to *Maximus*, couſin by the mother to *Conſtantine* the Great, that thereby he might put aſide his nephew's claim. But ſome time after, *Maximus* (after great conteſts with this *Conan*, his wife's couſin, for the Britiſh crown) was by the Prætorian ſoldiers choſen emperor. On which advancement of him to the imperial purple, he took into favour the ſaid *Conan Meriadog*, and gave him the province of Armorica, where before was planted a colony of Britons, and made him king thereof. And after the death of *Maximus*, and of his ſon *Flavius Victor* by his wife *Helen* (his other ſon *Publicius*, builder of *Llan Beblic*, having renounced the world and taken on him the habit of religion) the ſaid *Conan Meriadog* † became heir to his uncle *Eutha* or *Octavius*, and was conſequently duke of Cornwal, whoſe line I ſhall exhibit in the following Scheme.

But before I lay down that Scheme, it is requiſite here to adverti ſe the reader, that the accounts I give of theſe two families are principally owing to our Britiſh manuſcripts. That of the *Cynethian* family is ea-

* *Bedd Petrûal a wnaed i Fronwen ferch Llyr ar lan Alaw, ac yno y claddwyd hi*, &c. See Dr. Davies on the word *Petrûal*.

† The author miſapprehended a paſſage in the *Triades*, about *Helen* and her brother *Conan*; and therefore is not here to be depended upon.

fily

ſily to be made out from the pedigrees of the chiefeſt houſes in North-Wales; and where thoſe do agree, as generally they do in the account I give, they carry with them a great degree of hiſtorical certainty. As to the Cornwal family, I muſt confeſs I have not the ſame advantage; ſo that I was forced to take in there ſome conjectures and inferences, which yet I hope are well grounded. For inſtance, that *Aſclepiodotus* was duke of Cornwal and crowned king of Britain, the Britiſh hiſtory is my evidence; and that he was called by the Britons, *Bran* the ſon of *Llyr*, the genealogy of our Britiſh ſaints gives good teſtimony. For we find there that *Helen*, the wife of *Macſen Wledig*, who in hiſtory is commonly called *Maximus* the Tyrant, was daughter of *Euda* or *Eutha*, the ſon of *Caradog*, the ſon of *Bran ap Llyr*. Now that this *Bran ap Llyr*, *Eutha*'s grandfather, was a crowned king of Britain (for the Britons called none by that title but ſuch as had obtained their imperial crown) a very ancient Britiſh manuſcript, called *Mabinogi*, is my warrant. For in the beginning of the ſecond ſection of that old fragment are theſe words, *Bendigeid Vrân Mâb Llyr a oedd frenhin Coronawg yn yr ynys hon*, i. e. "Bleſſed *Brennus*, the ſon of *Llyr*, was a crowned king of this iſland." And *Aſclepiodotus* being of the ſame diſtance of time in hiſtory, as was this *Bran ap Llyr* in genealogy, from *Maximus* the emperor; and alſo being ſaid in that ancient remain to be a crowned king, i. e. their chief monarch, I could do no leſs than conclude him to be the ſame perſon with the Briton's *Bran ap Llyr*, however he came to be more generally known and called by the name of *Aſclepiodotus*.

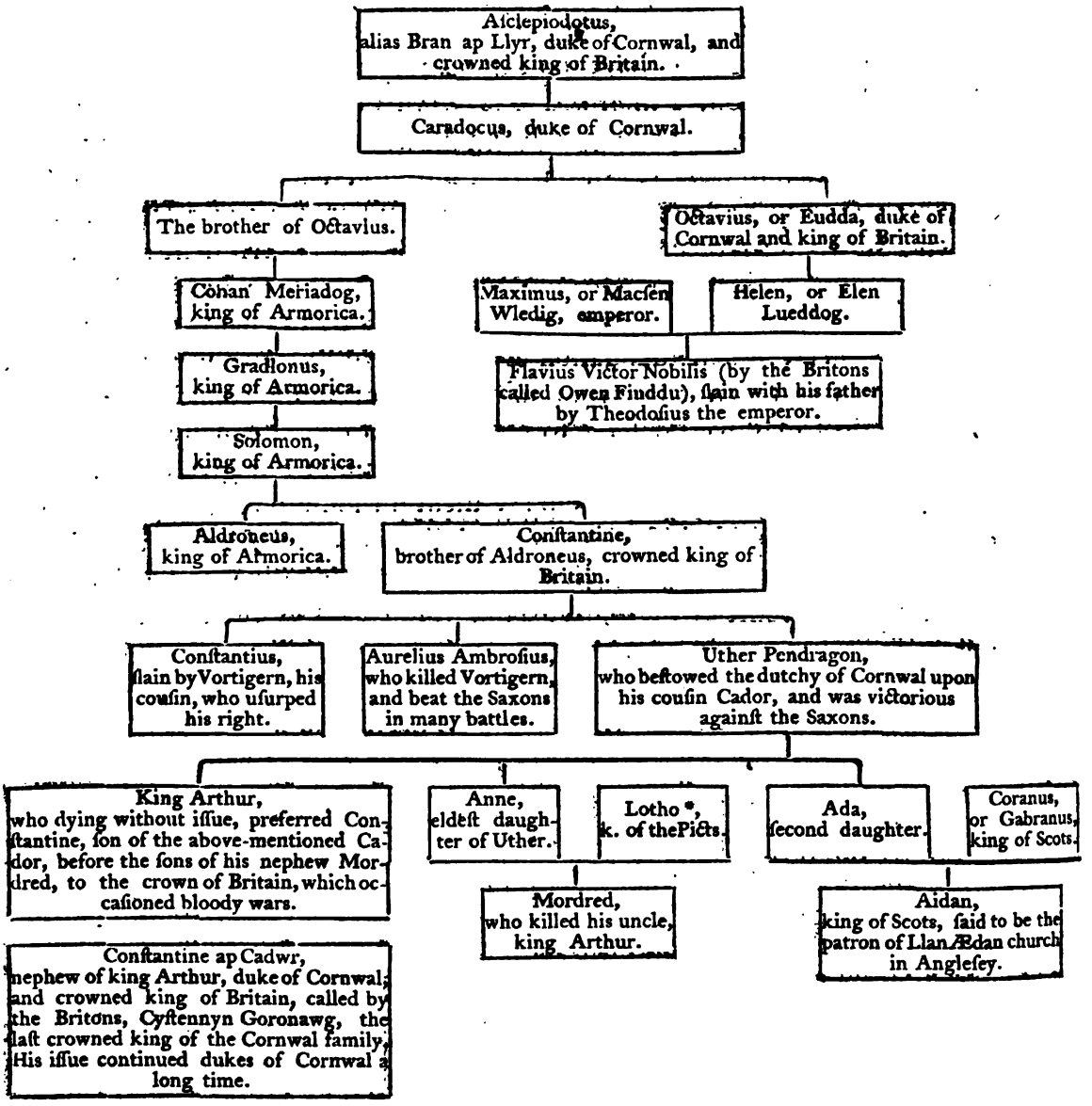
But more evident it is from theſe Britiſh remains, that *Euda* mentioned in them was *Octavius*, who was alſo crowned king of Britain, and duke of Cornwal. For where our printed chronicles ſay that *Maximus* the emperor married the daughter of *Octavius* king of Britain; agreeably with that (excepting in the name) our books of genealogy ſay, that *Maximus* or *Macſen* as they call him, married the daughter of *Eudda* or *Eutha*, who—as the very import of his Britiſh name *Eutha* or *Wyth*, expreſſed in the Latin tongue *Octavius*, diſcovers—could be no other than this *Octavius*. And it is alſo there as evident that the before-mentioned *Conan Meriadog* was *Octavius*'s brother's ſon, becauſe the Britiſh hiſtory not only calls him *Octavius*'s nephew, but mentions alſo the hard ſtruggling there was between *Conan Meriadog* and both *Octavius* and *Maximus* for the Britiſh ſceptre; by which it appears he was his elder brother's ſon, and ſo I have placed him in the Scheme: But of the other names in this Scheme that come after *Conan*, both the

Roman

Roman and Britiſh hiſtories of Great and Little-Britain give ample evidence. And here ſince I have endeavoured to clear this point of difficulty in the account and ſeries of our own Britiſh kings and princes, at the decline of the Roman empire, upon the credit of our Britiſh manuſcripts ſtill remaining among us, eſpecially of our books of pedigrees; and leſt the reader ſhould have too mean an opinion of thoſe obſcure authorities I rely upon, I ſhall add one word of apology for them, and ſay, that our books of pedigrees being in ancient times carefully preſerved, as valuable treaſures in our beſt families, and the collections out of which they were compoſed, being the peculiar work of a ſet of men allotted for that purpoſe in all ages of the Britiſh government; the accounts contained in them agreeing together, ought to have, at leaſt, equal credit allowed them, with what now paſs by the name of hiſtory; eſpecially ſince the beſt foundation of our ancient hiſtories was no other than what was taken and made uſe of out of thoſe collections; and therefore they may well deſerve to be looked into, and equally to be relied upon in diſquiſitions of this nature; and cannot but give conſiderable light, when warily and judiciouſly uſed, in ſome points that remain obſcure in our Britiſh hiſtories, both civil and eccleſiaſtical. The inſcriptions before obſerved, giving concurrent atteſtation and evidence to the truth of ſome of them, are a fair vindication of the credit of the reſt.

THE

The CORNWAL Family.


Aiclepiodotus, alias Bran ap Llyr, duke of Cornwal, and crowned king of Britain.
Caradocus, duke of Cornwal.
The brother of Octavius.
Octavius, or Eudda, duke of Cornwal and king of Britain.
Cohan Meriadog, king of Armorica.
Maximus, or Macſen Wledig, emperor.
Helen, or Elen Lueddog.
Gradlonus, king of Armorica.
Flavius Victor Nobilis (by the Britons called Owen Finddu), ſlain with his father by Theodoſius the emperor.
Solomon, king of Armorica.
Aldroneus, king of Armorica.
Conſtantine, brother of Aldroneus, crowned king of Britain.
Conſtantius, ſlain by Vortigern, his couſin, who uſurped his right.
Aurelius Ambroſius, who killed Vortigern, and beat the Saxons in many battles.
Uther Pendragon, who beſtowed the dutchy of Cornwal upon his couſin Cador, and was victorious againſt the Saxons.
King Arthur, who dying without iſſue, preferred Conſtantine, ſon of the above-mentioned Cador, before the ſons of his nephew Mordred, to the crown of Britain, which occaſioned bloody wars.
Anne, eldeſt daughter of Uther.
Lotho *, k. of the Picts.
Ada, ſecond daughter.
Coranus, or Gabranus, king of Scots.
Conſtantine ap Cadwr, nephew of king Arthur, duke of Cornwal, and crowned king of Britain, called by the Britons, Cyſtennyn Goronawg, the laſt crowned king of the Cornwal family. His iſſue continued dukes of Cornwal a long time.
Mordred, who killed his uncle, king Arthur.
Aidan, king of Scots, ſaid to be the patron of Llan Ædan church in Angleſey.

* Our author fell into a miſtake here by following the tranſlator of our Britiſh hiſtory, *Galfridus Monemuthenſis*; who turned *Llew ap Cynfarch* into *Loth*, whereas it ought to have been *Leo*. *Lotho* king of the Picts and *Llew ap Cynfarch* were different perſons. See Williams's notes on *Æſt. Cambr.* p. 144.

I have

I have inſerted here the Schemes of theſe two families, both to ſhew what regard the Britons in their greateſt confuſions had to the right line of their royal anceſtors, and to reconcile ſome ſeeming differences which occur in the accounts of Roman, Britiſh and Scottiſh hiſtories, in relating the affairs of thoſe times, and the names of the chief perſons therein concerned. In which laſt particular I take our genealogies, carefully preſerved in many of the beſt families, where they agree together, to be the beſt light we have to trace out what is poſſible to be recovered of the truth of thoſe matters, wherein national hiſtories ſeem ſo much to vary in their relations of names and things. And herein I muſt own that the Scotch hiſtories in the times of Chriſtianity, relating to our affairs, have been better preſerved than our own; their libraries having not been deſtroyed, as ours were, by the Danes and Saxons; and therefore in many things may be more depended upon. The Roman hiſtorians on the other ſide being over partial in their accounts; and an unlucky affectation of our prime men in taking on them Roman names with their own; by the firſt of which the Romans, and by the latter the Britons mention them; it is no wonder that many paſſages in Roman and Britiſh hiſtories have appeared ſo perplexed and intricate.

It is here alſo to be obſerved, that altho' ſince and perhaps long before the Roman conqueſt, the Iſle of Britain was governed by many petty princes of ſovereign authority in their territories; yet all along, when occaſion required it, they ſubmitted their powers to the conduct of one general ſovereign or monarch, whom they called King of all Britain; and ever confined themſelves in their choice of ſuch, to one imperial line, which, as an unalterable maxim of ſtate, continued from *Dunwallo Moelmutius* to *Heli* or *Beli Mawr* as they called him, and from him to the above-ſaid *Coel Godhebog* *: Of which line we find all that were raiſed to that dignity to have been. And whatever conteſts might happen for this pre-eminence between *Coel Godhebog* and the before-mentioned *Aſclepiodotus*, who reigned with that title immediately before him; we have reaſon to ſuppoſe they both had pretenſions to that lineage; eſpecially when we conſider how *Octavius*, grandſon of that *Aſclepiodotus*, to make ſure work againſt his nephew, ſent to Rome, as the Britiſh hiſtory has it, for *Maximus*, *Coel*'s brother's grandſon, to marry his daughter, thereby to ſalve up that difference. And alſo when *Conſtantine*'s line abdicated their claim, and that of *Maximus* was ex-

* The epithet *Godhebog* does not belong to this *Coel*, but to another.

tinct, we find that royal line divided again, between the *Cynethian* and the *Cornwal* families, out of which two only they chose their kings. And when that regal dignity ended in king *Cadwaladr*, his line continued notwithstanding in the succeeding princes of Wales, though the honour of kingship did not, to the time of *Llewelyn* their last prince, who was slain at *Buallt*.

That Cambria and Cornwal, to which these two mentioned families were intitled, were provinces of great antiquity among the Britons, long before the Romans subdued the same, appears by a very old fragment of the *Moelmutian* laws, made some hundreds of years before the birth of Christ (if they be genuine) and still extant among our British manuscripts, wherein among other things is enacted, viz. *Un Goron Arbennig a Gynhelir yn yr ynys hon, ac yn Llundain Cadw'r Goron; A thair Talaith a Gynhelir tani; un yn Ghymrû Benbaladr: arall yn Nhin-Edin yn y Gogledd; ar drydydd yn Ghernyw.* That is, "One imperial crown is established in this island, and the crown kept in London; and three princely coronets contained under it: One in Wales, of the chief line; another at Edinborough, in the North; and the third in Cornwal." The imperial crown was possessed by the supreme monarch of all Britain, whom they stiled, *Brenhin Prydain oll*, i. e. "King of all Britain." And such was commonly elected to that great dignity by the suffrage and consent of the other kings and princes, and was universally obeyed on extraordinary occasions. Of this sort were *Lud, Cassibeline, Cunobeline, Arviragus, Lucius, Coel*, and those of these two families I mentioned by the title of kings of Great-Britain, whereof *Cadwaladr* was the last; in whom ended that royal dignity in the British race, and together with it the possession of the far greater part of the whole island; which the Saxons very soon after reduced under one monarchy, and was called England, and their whole nation, Englishmen; as the Isle of Mona, the capital of the Cambrian province, being once conquered but soon lost by these Englishmen, was by them called Angleſey, i. e. "The Englishmens' Isle," as it is to this day.

Now to close up this section at the time and period wherein the Welsh history begins, that is, at the death of king *Cadwaladr*; I shall only by way of supplement out of that and other records trace the descent of the *Cynethian* line a little further, viz. from *Cadwaladr*, the last British monarch, to *Rhoderic* the Great; who established his royal seat at *Aberffraw* in the Isle of Angleſey: Adding a few other remarks that may deserve notice, relating to the said island.

Here

Here I ſhall not pretend to decide the variance there is between Britiſh and Engliſh authors, whether the laſt *Cadwaladr* died at Rome, or of the plague in Britain; or whether the Britiſh hiſtorian took the Saxon *Ceadwalla* for the Britiſh *Cadwaladr* *. But it is agreed on all hands, that *Cadwaladr* left at his death a ſon called *Idwal*, ſirnamed *Iwrch* or the Roe. The Britiſh hiſtory ſays his father left him very young under the care and tuition of his couſin *Alan*, then king of Armorica; who aſſiſted the young prince, when he came of age, with a powerful army to recover his father's dignity and royal ſceptre, or at leaſt his patrimonial right in the Cambrian province: Which laſt, after great ſtruggles, he obtained, and left his ſon *Rhodri Molwynog* ſole heir and ſucceſſor in the government of that province. Who in a ſhort time vanquiſhed and chaſed away the ſons of *Bletricus*, prince of Cornwal, that then uſurped the ſovereignty of thoſe countries, over which their father was left governor by *Cadwallo* and *Cadwaladr*, when they were choſen kings of all Britain; and then he ſettled his ſeat, as his anceſtors had done before, at *Caer Segont* on the river *Menai*.

Prince *Rhodri* dying left behind him two ſons; viz. *Conan* ſirnamed *Tyndaethwy*, probably as being born or nurſed in that part of Angleſey called ſtill by that name, and *Howel*. *Howel* claimed the Iſle of Angleſey and other lands for his ſhare of his father's inheritance by gavelkind; and *Conan* had the coronet and princely government. But as prince *Conan* could not ſuffer his brother to poſſeſs the capital of the province, in which the royal ſeat was firſt eſtabliſhed by his anceſtor *Caſwallon law-hir*; this ſeat of ſovereignty occaſioned bloody wars between the two brothers, proſecuted with various ſucceſs, till at length *Conan* the prince vanquiſhed his brother *Howel*, and forced him to make his eſcape to the Iſle of Man; which was then part of this Britiſh province, under the government of one *Merſyn Frych*. But *Conan* dying ſoon after, and leaving behind him one daughter named *Eſſyllt*; *Howel* perceiving the Welſh diſaffected to him, found it his intereſt to make up a match between *Merſyn* and his niece *Eſſyllt*; by which bargain *Howel* was to have the Iſle of Man and other lands, which he enjoyed not long. For *Howel* ſoon after dying without iſſue, they all returned to the poſſeſſion of *Merſyn*.

This *Merſyn Frych* had, beſides the Iſle of Man, very large poſſeſſions in Wales, eſpecially in right of his mother, who was daughter of

* Might not both *Cadwaladr* and *Ceadwalla* go to Rome?

Cadell ſon of the younger *Brychfael Yſcythrog*, from whom he enjoyed and was lord of all *Powys-Land* and earl of Cheſter; which, joined with his wife's inheritance, made him prince and proprietor of almoſt all Wales, and king of the Iſle of Man. In his time *Egbert* the Weſt-Saxon invaded Wales, took the Iſle of Mona, and called it Angleſey, where a bloody battle was fought at *Llanfaes* near *Beaumares*; but was ſoon after diſpoſſeſſed of it by *Merfyn*, who at length cleared his country of thoſe invaders. And laſtly, aſſiſting the Danes againſt the Engliſh, he ſo incenſed *Ethelwolph* their king againſt him, that a moſt cruel war enſued, with ſuch enormous outrages committed by the Engliſh againſt his ſubjects, that in defence of his people and country, he at laſt fell and gave up his life a dear victim to his enemies' implacable fury, leaving his ſovereignty and poſſeſſions to his ſole heir and ſucceſſor *Roderic* ſirnamed the Great.

Roderic the ſon of *Merfyn* and *Eſſyllt*, to make the whole Cambrian province his own, which before had been divided into many families, takes to wife *Angharad* daughter and heir of *Meyric ap Dyfnwal* king of *Cardigan* and prince of South-Wales, by which marriage he became ſole prince and proprietor of all Wales.

Prince *Roderic* behaved himſelf with admirable conduct, but with variable fortune againſt both Danes and Engliſh; who in their turns made ſtrong and frequent attempts to ſeize the Iſle of Angleſey, which the Engliſh called their own: And both Danes and Engliſh with equal appetite and endeavour coveted the poſſeſſion of it, as a place of firſt importance, in order to ſubject and conquer the whole province; which made prince *Roderic* remove the royal ſeat from *Caer Segont*, where it continued a long time, into the iſland. But why he choſe *Aberffraw*, an unfenced open place, to fix his court at, I am not able to determine *; unleſs that had been before a princely palace, and that he looked upon the whole iſland, as the ſtrongeſt and ſecureſt fort he had; and then no matter where in it his palace ſtood, ſo he had a fleet to ſecure the coaſts, and a good army to defend the paſſes of the *Snowdon*. But here he fixed it; and here it continued all the time of his ſucceſſors, the Welſh

* Ther eare many good reaſons why *Roderic* and the other princes before him, ſhould pitch upon *Aberffraw* as the fitteſt place to fix their court. Firſt, it is the richeſt part of the iſland, and the beſt corn country, to this day. And, when the iſland was all woody, this muſt have been the wholeſomeſt part of it; being expoſed to the ſouthern breezes from the ſea and mountains. Secondly, it was the part of the iſland by nature beſt fortified, and the leaſt ſubject to invaſion by ſea; ſo that the prince might have ſufficient time to prepare againſt any power that might land in any other part of the country. All the coaſt near *Aberffraw* is ſo dangerous for ſhipping, that ſeamen never care to come near it.

princes,

princes, till prince *Llewelyn*, the laſt of that race, loſt his life at *Buallt*, and with it ſurrendered his royal ſeat and dignity and the whole principality, into the hands of his conqueror, Edward the Firſt, king of England; in whoſe line, the rights and royalties thereof, and the titles in their eldeſt ſons, continue to this day.

I muſt not paſs by here the recital of ſome of the noble qualifications of this worthy prince *Roderic* the Great; a name and character he well deſerved, as being the eſtabliſher of the long continued government of the Cambrian province, where the laſt remains of the ancient Britons enjoyed their lives, laws and liberty for ſeveral centuries under the auſpicious valour and protection of their own natural lords and maſters; and much longer might they have done, if they had followed the excellent rules he laid down for their preſervation and ſecurity.

FIRST, He was a wiſe politic prince; he ſhewed as much wiſdom in ordering the affairs of his ſtate, and policy in regulating the government of his province, as he had always done of valour and conduct in the wars he frequently waged againſt two powerful enemies, the Danes and Engliſh; who moleſted him on every part of his territories. For conſidering that ſo many provinces were united by marriages in him; and that the nobles and people of thoſe provinces had been accuſtomed of a long time to ſerve their own lords and princes, who lived among them; and that ſome of them might be too prone to revolt to the enemy, when he could not on a ſudden yield them ſuccours, as occaſions would ſometimes require; he therefore cauſed a ſurvey to be made of all Wales, and to obviate thoſe foreſeen inconveniencies and dangers that might threaten his peace and tranquility, diſtributed the whole province into three principalities, each containing under it an aſſigned number of *Comots* and *Cantrefs*. The principalities were *Gwynedd*, *Deheubarth* and *Powys*. And in each of theſe he built a royal court or palace, viz. *Aberffraw* in North-Wales, *Dineſawr* in South-Wales, and *Mathraſal* in *Powys*. Theſe three principalities, during his life, he governed and protected by ſubſtitutes and commanders under him; but ordained that, after his deceaſe, his three elder ſons ſhould enjoy them, to them and their heirs for ever; and ſhould be from thenceforth reckoned the three diademed princes, *Y Tri Tywyſog Taleithiog*. To *Anarawd*, the eldeſt ſon, he gave the principality of North-Wales, whoſe court he ordered ſhould be at *Aberffraw* in Angleſey; giving him the title, at leaſt among his own ſubjects, of king of *Aberffraw*. To *Cadell*, the ſecond ſon, he gave South-Wales, whoſe court he appointed to be at *Dinerſaw*. And

to

to *Merfyn*, his third ſon, he gave the principality of *Powys*, whoſe court was to be kept at *Mathrafal*; as appears in the laws of his grandſon *Howel Dda*, ſon of the ſaid *Cadell*, prince of South-Wales.

SECONDLY, He was a juſt prince; although he divided his dominions in this manner between his three ſons, yet he took care to give the eldeſt ſon a diſtinguiſhing ſuperiority over the other two, as undoubted heir of the *Cynethian* line, appointing him and his heirs and ſucceſſors only, to have the title of *Brenhin Cymru oll*, viz. "King of all Wales." And in acknowledgment of that ſuperiority, the other two ſons, their heirs and ſucceſſors, ſhould pay to the kings of *Aberffraw* a rated yearly tribute called *Maelgêd*, in token of their homage and fealty. And alſo that the kings of *Aberffraw* ſhould pay for all Wales the *Teyrnged* or ancient royal tribute to the imperial crown of London, at that time, by conqueſt, in the poſſeſſion of the kings of England; as by the conſtitutions of *Dunwallo Moelmutius* the whole Cambrian province was obliged to do.

THIRDLY, He was a provident prince; he divided his dominions, to enable every one of them apart by themſelves, by a cloſer union to make ſtronger efforts againſt the attempts of an encroaching enemy. He foreſaw that nothing leſs than a ſtrict bond of confederacy between theſe new made princes and their poſterity could preſerve the whole in ſafety; and that the relation of brotherhood (if that could keep up the bond unviolated) was to be but of a ſhort duration. Therefore prince *Roderic*, taking a paternal care of their welfare, projects as much as he could to perpetuate that relation by enjoining his three ſons, now made diſtinct princes, and their heirs and ſucceſſors after them, to maintain inviolable peace and concord between themſelves; ordaining, that when any one of them was oppreſſed or injured by the common enemy, that the other two ſhould *totis viribus*, aſſiſt and ſuccour him. And well knowing that inteſtine broils and animoſities would inevitably ariſe between neighbouring princes of equal ſtrength, he added that incomparable article (which yet I do not find was ever obſerved) to this *Partition-Ordinance*, viz. "That if any two of theſe princes ſhould happen to jar and quarrel about their particular intereſts, that then the third ſhould intercede and finally determine the matter." Nay, he went herein further than general terms; he laid the caſe home to them in order to obviate that fatal miſchief. For he expreſly ordained, "That if any difference ſhould ariſe between the prince of *Aberffraw* and the prince of *Dineſawr*, the three princes ſhould meet at a certain place which

which he named, and the prince of *Powys* ſhould end the controverſy. And if the prince of *Aberffraw* and the prince of *Powys* fell at variance, the three princes ſhould likewiſe meet at a ſecond place aſſigned by him, and the prince of South-Wales ſhould compoſe the difference. And if a quarrel happened between the princes of South-Wales and *Powys*, then the prince of *Aberffraw*, at a third place named by him, ſhould meet and put an end to the matter."

And, LASTLY, As a prudent and religious prince, promoting the honour and welfare of his nation and country, he ordained, "That all ſtrong holds, caſtles, and citadels ſhould be fortified and kept in repair; that all churches and religious houſes ſhould be re-edified and adorned; and that in all ages the hiſtory of Britain, being faithfully tranſcribed and regiſtered, and added unto as times required, ſhould be carefully looked after and preſerved in the ſaid religious houſes, for the information of poſterity, and to perpetuate the honour and glory of the Britiſh nation."

Thus I have endeavoured to trace the affairs of this ſmall iſland from the time of its firſt planting; and to ſhew that it was a place of ſome conſequence for the greateſt part of the time it was in the hands of the Britons to the time of *Roderic* the Great. And what figure it made from that time and what overtures happened in it (it being the capital ſeat of the Britiſh princes to the diſſolution of their government at the death of *Llewelyn* the laſt Britiſh prince of Wales) the general hiſtory of the province, firſt ſet out by Dr. *Powel*, and lately reviſed and publiſhed by Mr. *William Wynne*, will eaſe me of farther trouble to account for, and will abundantly ſatisfy any inquiſitive reader. Only this I muſt beg leave to obſerve before I finiſh this ſection, which is, that though this iſland has not been ſo happy as to have had the court or palace of any of our Engliſh princes in it; yet we not only lived happy under the influence of their mild and gracious government, where they were, but alſo (which is not a little remarkable) we have by a ſtrange compenſation of Providence, the honour to ſay, that her late majeſty queen Anne of glorious memory, as well as ſome of her royal anceſtors before her, enjoyed the ancient kingdom of Scotland, the kingdom of England and the principality of Wales, by right of inheritance, from perſons whoſe deſcent and origin were from the Iſle of Angleſey. For ſhe had the name of her family, and the crown of Scotland, as deſcended from *Walter Steward*, who was born at *Aberffraw*; the crown of England, in right of the lady *Margaret Tudur*, paternally deſcended from

Owen Tudur of *Penmynydd* in Angleſey; and ſhe inherited the principality of Wales from *Gwladus Ddu*, only ſurviving daughter and heir of *Llewelyn ap Iorwerth* prince of Wales, born and bred in Angleſey, who was married to Sir *Ralph Mortimer*; by which marriage the inheritance of the principality of Wales in right of blood, came to the houſe and family of York, and by them to the crown, wherein it now happily reſts.

And further alſo, if a right to the poſſeſſion of undiſcovered regions belongs to the crown or ſovereignty of thoſe kingdoms or ſtates whoſe native ſubjects were the firſt diſcoverers of them, as the Spaniards affirm, and as the pope has confirmed, it does; then we are well able to prove, as far as any credit of hiſtory and atteſting circumſtances go, that his preſent majeſty king George, in right of the imperial crown of Great-Britain, is rightly intitled to all America, by the firſt diſcovery and premier ſeiſin of that country by one * *Madoc ap Owen Gwynedd*, born in this iſland—who adventured and performed the diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies, returned and went again there with a colony of Welſhmen above three hundred years before *Chriſtopher Columbus* and *Americus Veſpuſius* made their diſcovery of it, on which the Spaniards ground their title to thoſe rich and ſpacious regions and iſlands thereunto belonging.

Theſe are great things, I confeſs, wherewith Providence was pleaſed to bleſs and ſignalize this iſland above other places. And as it adds to the reputation of the place to have ſuch perſons born in, and thereby ſuch great things owing to it; I am therefore in hopes that a native of it will be at leaſt excuſed for taking notice of them, in order to recommend them to the eſteem and value of poſterity.

The reader will, I hope, pardon my ſubjoining one other remark of God's ſingular providence (for I can call it no other) in making this iſland the only celebrated place of refuge to the diſtreſſed and perſecuted, in the greateſt calamities that ever happened to this kingdom. I have before ſhewed how it was an aſylum to the harraſſed Britons, when the invading injurious Romans diſtreſſed them. And it was no leſs a ſanctuary to the retreating Britiſh clergy from the rage and inſults of the domineering pagan Saxons, after the bloody maſſacre at *Bangor-Iſcoed*, as I have already endeavoured to make appear. I ſhall add a third inſtance, in the ſeaſonable ſuccour this iſland yielded to many of the loyal clergy alſo in the rebellion againſt king Charles the Firſt: It then *alone* held

* See the Hiſtory of Wales, Wynne's Edition, p. 195, 196, 197, and Sir Thomas Herbert's Travels into Perſia, Second Edition, p. 355, where he proves at large the firſt diſcovery of the Weſt-Indies by *Madoc* the ſon of *Owen Gwynedd*, prince of Wales.

out

out above five years after the breaking out of that rebellion; at which time no leſs than * five biſhops with other ſequeſtered clergymen had ſheltered themſelves within it. Nay, afterwards, when the late king James the Second had unfortunately brought a perſecution on the Proteſtant clergy and laity in Ireland, great numbers of them were driven, and made their eſcape hither. So that the ancient character, at leaſt in the latter part of it, which the Roman † hiſtorian many centuries before had given it, was ſignally verified of this iſland; namely, that it was *Incolis valida & perfugarum receptaculum*, viz. ſo well ſtrengthened by God and nature, as to have been a retreating defence and ſecurity to the diſtreſſed and perſecuted, in many of our greateſt national afflictions and calamities; which, without ingratitude to divine Providence, we could not paſs by unnoticed, and without its due commemoration and acknowledgement.

* Litchfield and Coventry, Bangor, St. Aſaph, Glouceſter, Oſſory.
† Tacitus, Annal. lib. 14.

A BRIEF CHRONOLOGY,

RELATING TO THE ELEVENTH SECTION;

In Two Columns, viz. CIVIL and ECCLESIASTICAL.

A. D.	CIVIL AFFAIRS.
46	CLaudius Cæsar made a descent in person into the isle of Britain, and settled colonies and Roman garrisons in it.
52	*Caractacus*, captain-general of the Silures, is taken and carried captive to Rome.
61	The Isle of Mona conquered by Suetonius Paulinus.
67	Nero died, and the Isle of Mona recovered its liberty for some time.
73	The legion, *Britannica Augusta*, placed by Julius Frontinus on the river Wisk to awe the Silures or the South-Wales men.
74	The legion, *Vigesima Victrix*, placed on the river Dee to awe the Ordovices or the North-Wales men.
76	The Isle of Mona re-taken by Julius Agricola, and made a part of a Roman province.
108	Lucius, king of the Britons, embraced the Christian faith, which was preached to him by Timothy, St. Paul's disciple, and son of *Claudia Ruffina*, a British lady.

A. D.	ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.
41	JAMES, the son of Zebedee, with his mother Salome, is said to have come to the isle of Britain to preach the gospel in it.
47	Simon Zelotes came to Britain to preach the gospel.
51	Aristobulus was sent by St. Paul and St. Barnabas into Britain, and after ordained bishop thereof.
59	St. Paul the Apostle came to Britain.
61	The Druids routed by the Romans in the Isle of Mona, and their sacred places all destroyed.
70	The Druidish priests forsake the Isle of Mona, and betake themselves to the isle of Man, Ireland and Scotland.
110	At this time, it is probable, the doctrine of Christ was embraced in the Isle of Mona.
182	The great college or monastry of *Bangor is Coed*, in Flintshire, was founded.
190	A great persecution against the Christians under Septimius Severus, emperor.

200 *Conan*

A. D.	Civil Affairs.
200	*Conan ap Eûdaff*, grandfather of *Stradwen* the mother of our famous Helen *, was, under the Romans, a great prince in North-Wales.
260	At this time one *Lyr* was a great prince or duke in Cornwal.
285	Carausius †, a Menapian born, obtained the government of Britain, and was called Emperor.
292	Alectus made emperor in Britain, slain by Asclepiodotus.
294	Asclepiodotus, duke of Cornwal, crowned king of the Britons.
300	*Coel Godhebog* ‡ kills Asclepiodotus, and was crowned king of Britain.
304	Constantius Chlorus was chosen emperor.
316	Constantine made king of Britain.
326	Constantine the Great was sole emperor.
328	*Cynedda Wledig* was a great prince in the northern parts.
330	*Eudda* § or *Octavius* was king of Britain and duke of Cornwal.
370	Maximus, Helen's nephew, marries Helen daughter of Octavius, king of Britain.
383	Maximus was chosen emperor.
389	*Einion Urdd* or the Honourable, son of *Cynedda Wledig*, reigned in Cumberland.
390	*Conan Meriadog* was about this time made king of Armorica.

A. D.	Ecclesiastical Affairs.
239	A persecution raised against the Christians by the emperor Maximinus.
251	Another persecution against the Christians in the reign of the emperor Decius, called the eighth persecution.
256	A great persecution raised by the emperor Valerian.
286	The greatest and last persecution raised by Diocletian against the Christians in all the provinces of the empire, but raged with great severity in all the parts of Britain.
313	Constantine the Great, son of Helen, commanded the Christian faith to be embraced through all the Roman empire.
314	Constantine, the emperor, summoned a synod of bishops at Arles in Gallia, to which three British archbishops repaired, viz. Ivor of York; Restitutus of London, and Adelphius of *Caer Leon* on *Wisk*.
354	Pelagius (his British name was *Morgan*) a student at Bangor monastry in his youth, was author of the Pelagian hersy.
364	Kebius or Cybi is said to be bishop of Anglesey, and to have his seat at Holyhead.

* This is an intolerable blunder, occasioned by our author's following the poets; who, mistaking *Coel Godebog*, a northern prince, for *Coel* earl of *Caerleon*—Gloucester—afterwards king of Britain, have made *Helen* to be the daughter of *Coel Godebog*.

† Heylin calls him a noble Briton, and places him about the year 218. In the year 1728 a copper coin of his was found at *Coedan* in the parish of *Llanfechell* in Anglesey. See plate VIII. fig. 3.

‡ This *Coel* was earl of Gloucester, and not *Coel Godebog*.

§ *Eudaf* in all our Br. MSS.

THE SECOND PERIOD.

A. D.	CIVIL AFFAIRS.
400	GRadlonus, Conan's ſon, reigned in Armorica.
420	Solomon, the ſon of Gradlonus, reigned in Armorica.
440	*Caſwallon law-hir*, ſon of *Einion Urdd*, fixed his ſeat in the Iſle of Angleſey, and reigned there.
443	Conſtantine the younger, ſon of Solomon king of Armorica, was duke of Cornwal and crowned king of Britain.
448	Vortigern ſlew Conſtantius the eldeſt ſon of Conſtantine, uſurped the throne, and called in the Saxons.
464	Vortimer, the ſon of Vortigern, takes on him the government, and ſoon after dies.
481	Aurelius Ambroſius, ſecond ſon of Conſtantine, ſlew Vortigern and obtained the Britiſh crown.
500	Uther Pendragon, third ſon of Conſtantine, reigned in Britain.
505	Howel, brother of Gildas, was ſlain by young Arthur in the Iſle of Angleſey—at *Corrig Howel*.
510	*Maelgwyn Gwynedd*, ſon of *Caſwallon law-hir*, ruled in North-Wales.
517	Arthur, the ſon of Uther Pendragon, reigned in Britain.
520	The battle at Badon-hill, being the year Gildas Badonicus was born.
529	Mordred, king Arthur's nephew, married a daughter of one *Gawolan*, which is not improbable was the ſame as was commonly called by the Britains, *Caw O Frudain*; for it appears by the Scotch writers that this *Gawolan* was a Britiſh lord, and in great favour with king Arthur. And if the ſaid *Caw* was this *Gawolan*, then he could not be the father of Gildas Albanius, as is gene

A. D.	ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.
455	GIldas Albanius ſet up a ſchool in Britain, and inſtructed youths in arts and ſciences.
477	About this time Merlinus Ambroſius flouriſhed, and propheſied of the future fate of Britain.
481	(Vortigern was ſlain, and Merlin was then but young. Galf.)
525	About this time Daniel, ſon of Dionothus, abbot of Bangor monaſtry, founded a college for the inſtruction of youth in Cearnarvonſhire, and called it Bangor: He was ſome while after conſecrated biſhop of that place by Dubricius archbiſhop of *Caerleon*.
531	About this time Sampſon, the ſcholar of Iltudus, was made abbot of *Llan Garmon*, and ordained biſhop, *ſine titulo*, by Dubricius of *Caerleon*.
564	Gildas Badonicus retreating to Armorica, wrote thence his ſharp epiſtle to his brethren, the Britons, ſome of whom he repreſents therein worſe than heathens, and treats the princes he falls upon with very warm and unbecoming language.
543	St. Kentigern came from Scotland, and had leave of one *Cadwallon* to build a college in Flintſhire, called *Llan-Elwy*; which became afterward one of the biſhoprics of North-Wales.
554	Daniel, biſhop of Bangor, died and was buried in the iſle of Bardſey.
570	Gildas Badonicus died.
580	(According to Baker.)

rally

A. D. CIVIL AFFAIRS.

rally believed, but rather of Gildas Badonicus, whoſe brothers, *Peirio*, *Gallgo*, *Eugrad*, *Caffo*, and whoſe ſiſter, *Cuillog*, by this account, muſt be; for in our pedigrees they are always reckoned brothers and ſiſter to one of the Gildas's; the former Gildas being too old in time to be *Gawolan*'s ſon, it therefore muſt be the latter; if, as I ſaid, this *Gawolan* in the Scottiſh hiſtory be the ſame with our *Caw* of Britain. And if that be the truth of this obſcure matter, as in all likelihood it may, then theſe mentioned brothers and ſiſter of Gildas might retreat to Angleſey about the time of the diſperſion of the clergy, and build thoſe cloyſters; and thereby alſo a reaſon will appear, why the latter Gildas omitted the mention of king Arthur, who diſinherited Mordred's ſons, and why he fell ſo foul on Conſtantine, Arthur's ſucceſſor, for killing them, when they were his own ſiſter's children; occaſion enough to enflame his reſentments, and to vent the angry expreſſions he has in his epiſtle.

542 King Arthur and his nephew Mordred loſt their lives in the battle of Camblane or Camlan.

542 Conſtantine, duke of Cornwal, was crowned king of Britain, called by the Britains by the title of *Cyſtennyn Goronog*.

552 *Maelgwyn Gwynedd* endowed the biſhopric of Bangor with lands and franchiſes.

560 *Maelgwyn Gwynedd* made king of all Wales.

560 *Rhun*, the ſon of *Maelgwyn Gwynedd*, reigned in North-Wales.

586 *Beli*, the ſon of *Rhun ap Maelgwyn*, was prince there.

A. D. ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

596 Auguſtine the monk was ſent by pope Gregory the Great, to the iſle of Britain, to convert the Saxons to the Chriſtian faith.

597 The archbiſhops of London and York were driven to Wales by the Saxons; and the Loegrian Britons extremely perſecuted.

600 At this time *Talieſin* wrote his denunciatory ode, being then very old, having flouriſhed in *Maelgwyn*'s time, and been his poet-laureat.

603 This year was committed that horrid maſſacre on the monks of Bangor by Ethelfred king of Northumberland.

613 According to Bede, &c. ſo the monaſtry laſted about 421 years.

Gerinnius,

Gerinnius, or *Geraint*, the grandſon of king *Conſtantine* or *Cyſtennyn Goronog*, on the ſaid *Conſtantine*'s renouncing all worldly affairs, took on him the title of duke of Cornwal. This *Gerinnius* had a fleet at ſea, and was very uſeful to the Britons in defending the maritime parts of Wales, as well as his own country, from the inſults of the Saxons; and is therefore celebrated in a particular ode, called *Cywydd Geraint ap Erbin*, by *Llywarch-Hên*. He was grandfather of St. *Cybi* according to our Britiſh genealogies.

A. D.	CIVIL AFFAIRS.
599	*Llywarch Hên*, the Britiſh prince and poet flouriſhed.
599	*Iago ap Beli* ruled in North-Wales, the founder of Bangor deanry.
603	*Cadfan*, the ſon of *Iago ap Beli* was prince of North-Wales.—This *Cadfan*, together with four other Britiſh princes, routed the Saxons who maſſacred the monks at Bangor; he killed 10,066 of them upon the ſpot.
613	*Cadfan* was choſen and crowned king of the Britons.
635	*Cadwallo*, the ſon of *Cadfan*, was crowned king of the Britons.
676	*Cadwaladr*, the ſon of *Cadwallo*, was crowned king, being the laſt crowned head of the Britiſh race.
689	King *Cadwaladr* goes over to reſide with his couſin *Alan* king of Armorica.
703	*Idwal Iwrch*, the ſon of king *Cadwaladr*, returns from Armorica.
720	*Rodri Molwynog*, ſon of *Idwal Iwrch*, reigned in North-Wales.
755	*Conan Tyndaethwy*, ſon of *Rodri Molwynog*, reigned in North-Wales.
810	*Eſylbt*, ſole daughter and heir of *Conan Tyndaethwy*, was married to *Merfyn Frych*, king of the iſle of Man.
843	*Rodri* the Great, ſon of *Merfyn* and *Eſylbt*, reigned over all Wales.

A. D.	ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.
613	Monk Auguſtine died.
616	*Beuno* built a college at *Clynnog* in Caernarvonſhire.

In this century, and in the latter end of the laſt, we find moſt of our churches in Angleſey to have been built: the times of whoſe building I am not wholly deſtitute of a way to make ſome near gueſs at—for I pretend to no nicety and certainty in this matter. And the way I take is, from a computation made out of the genealogies of thoſe patron-ſaints or firſt builders of our cells and cloyſters, which afterwards came to be our PARISH-Churches. That is, by pitching on ſome noted perſon in every pedigree, whoſe time of living is known, and by the meaſure of time which ſo many deſcents, as are from thoſe noted perſons to the perſons I enquire, ordinarily make; and by certain reſpects and relations of things or other informing circumſtances, it will credibly appear,

That

ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS. *Circa Ann.*

That St. Patrick being ſent by Pope Celeſtine to convert the Iriſh, and being come to Angleſey, in his way to Ireland, built his church on the ſea-ſhore, which was called *Llan Badric*, - 440

That St. *Elian*, being contemporary with *Caſwallan Law-hir*, built *Llan Elian*, - - - - - - - - - 450

That prince *Pabo*, commonly called *Pŷſt Prydain*, for his being a great ſupport to the Britons againſt the Picts and Scots, about the time of *Caſwallon Law-hir*, built *Llan Pabo*, - - 460

That *Llan Degfan* and *Llan Dyfrydog* were built, about - 450

That *Llan Ddogwel* chapel was built, - - - - - 530

That *Llan Rhuddlad* and *Llan Rhwydrys* were built, - - 570

That *Llan Ddyfnan*, *Llan Geinwen* and *Llanddwyn* were built, 590

That *Llan Allgo*, *Llan Eugrad*, *Llanfaelog*, *Llan Gaffo*, *Rhôs Peirio*, and *Llangwilleg* were built, - - - - - - 605

That *Llan Griſtiolus* and *Llanddona* were built, - - - 610

That *Aberffraw* and *Trewdraeth* were built, - - - 616

That *Llan Eddn* and *Llanddeniel Fâb* were built, - - - 616

That *Llan Enghenel*, *Llanffinan*, *Llanieſtin* and *Llan Geſni* were built, - - - - - - - - - - 620

That *Llan Pſtewyn*, *Llan Gradwal* or *Penmynydd* and *Llan Fechell* were built, - - - - - - - - 630

That *Llan Beulan*, *Rhôſcolyn*, *Coed Ane*, *Cappel Ceidio* and *Llech Gynfarwy* were built, - - - - - - 630

That *Penmon*-church, *Seirwl*-chapel in the iſland, and *Llan Pierion* were built, - - - - - - - 630

That *Tyſilio*, the ſon of *Brochfael Yſcythrog*, built his church at *Llandyſilio*, - - - - - - - 630

That *Edwen*, niece or daughter of king *Edwin*, built her church at *Llan Edwen*, - - - - - - 640

That king *Cadwaladr*, our laſt Britiſh, as well ſaint as monarch, cauſed his church of *Llan Gadwaladr* to be built, - - 650

Theſe churches, as well as all the reſt throughout Wales, have their wakes or feaſt-days, in commemoration either of the death of the ſaid patron-ſaints, or of ſome remarkable accident of their lives, or of the peculiar dedication of the ſacred houſes built by them to the uſe and

ſervice

ſervice of religion: Which feaſts the people yearly obſerve and celebrate, commonly on the Lord's day next before or after the parochial ſaint's day. And as the primitive Chriſtians ſolemnized their *Faſti* or anniverſary memorial-days, called by them, as well as the places they were celebrated in, *Memoriæ Sanctorum* or *Martyrum*; ſo we in a religious imitation of them—ſolemnize ours, and call them *Gwyliau Myb'r Sant*, corruptly called *Mab-Sant*—*Myſyr* or *Mybyr* being the true Britiſh of *Memoria*, or indeed the ſame word varied in pronunciation by a different language; for * *M*, *U* and *B* have been often uſed one for another in the pronouncing of Roman words in the Britiſh tongue, eſpecially when theſe labials are in the middle of a word, of which I have produced many inſtances in my Comparative Table of Languages—on which account I conceive the ancients *Memoriæ Sanctorum*, came with us to be rendered *Myb'r-Sant*, and at laſt *Mab-Sant*: ſuch deviations from original ſounds in a long courſe of time being not uncommon; which induces me to lay this down as the beſt reaſon I can think of, to account for the etymology of that very common but obſcure name. † Dr. Davies indeed gives another reaſon for it, viz. *Sanctus in Cujus Paræcia quis Natus eſt puer*, i. e. that every native of a pariſh, by being reckoned its ſaint's ſon, or *Mâb y Sant*, gives name, when aſſembled to celebrate it, to this feſtival. But I can never be perſuaded that ſuch a relative attribute in propriety of ſpeaking, could give it that denomination; for, beſides the too remote congruity of that cauſe, it is unprecedented; no Chriſtian churches in any nation giving that reaſon for the name of their feſtivals; but that of Commemoration they generally give.

* See Mr. *Lloyd*'s Comparative Etymology, *M*, *B*, *U*. p. 22.
† Dr. Davies on the word *Mab-Sant*.

SECT.

SECTION XII.

The etymology of the Comot of Mænau.

THAT the original of names, eſpecially of places, is for the moſt part very dark and uncertain, and not to be traced but by gueſſes and probabilities, is a truth by all men aſſented to; yet that this tract or portion of land, called *Cwmmwd Mænau* or the *Comot* of *Mæne*, was ſo denominated from the *Fretum* or channel of that name on which it borders, will be readily granted: But how that fret or channel came to be ſo named, will not be ſo eaſily accounted for.

Tacitus in his ſhort notes and ſtrictures on the affairs of Britain, only mentions an arm of ſea here; but gives us no manner of account how it was then called. Neither doth Ptolomy, if his ports and rivers be now rightly ſtated, give the leaſt hint of it. And if *Môr Caingc* be the true Britiſh of Ptolomy's *Moricambium* *, or perhaps *Môr Cam*, as it very well may, the channel bending and winding in its paſſage; yet I know not, with a juſt regard to the congruity of the names of other bordering places by him mentioned, how well to place it here.

It may therefore be more allowable to refer the ancient and preſent name of this *Fretum* of *Mænau* to a primitive impoſition, or a name at the firſt peopling of the land impoſed upon it. And that ſeems the more probable, becauſe its compoſition imports, as original names uſually do, the nature and propriety of the place, viz. *Mainau*, i. e. a narrow water: *Main* being here retained for ſtreight and narrow, and *Eau* or *Au* in France for water, to this day. And that it ſhould be pronounced *Mæne* or *Menai* contractedly, is no unuſual thing; conſidering that the Romans have corrupted and altered many other names from their original ſounds: And it is not unlikely that they might call this water *Mænæ* or *Menei* in the *Genitive Caſe*, i. e. *Aqua Mænæ*, and ſo it continued to be called to this day.

But if any ſeem inclined to object the improbability of this account and reaſon of the name, by ſuggeſting that the French *Eau* or *Au*, ſignifying water, is rather a derivative of *Aqua*, as it is generally thought to be, than that it ſhould come from an ancient Gauliſh or Celtic ſound of that ſignification: To that, I ſay, it may be reaſonably replied, that although it be granted that the French liſp hath ſmothered ſome letters

* *Moricambium—Mor icamb* (*m* and *b* equal *w* or *f*) i. e. *Môr uchaf*—the *uppermoſt ſea.*

in their vulgar pronouncing of Latin words; yet it does not ſeem very likely that they ſhould retain their moſt common letter *(q)* almoſt in every other word that had it before—nay very often uſe it where they had it not—and loſe it in this, where the pronunciation of it appears to be ſo ſoft and eaſy. And indeed we may as fairly invert the ſuppoſition, and preſume the Latin *Aqua* to have been originally derived from *Au*, that being a moſt ancient appellative of water in the Gauliſh or Britiſh ſounds, whereof we have many inſtances in ancient etymologies.

And that this may not appear to be a bare and groundleſs ſuppoſition, we may further obſerve, that that ſound—*Au*—betokening water, ſeems not only to have been very ancient among the Gauls and Britons; but one may alſo obſerve ſome remains of that ſound, either as initial or terminative, to have been conveyed to us in many ancient compound words relating to water: Which is no mean argument that *Au*, or ſome ſound very near it, was ſignificative of water, even at thoſe very firſt times, in this weſtern part of Europe.

For inſtance; as initial, *Auernus* in Italy; *Auignion* in France; *Aude* in Narbon; *Aube* in Campania; *Aa* in Flanders; *Aar* in the Alps; *Avate* in Tranſilvania; *Aw* in Scotland; *Avren* in Britain; and *Awyduff* or *Black-Water* in Ireland, do all of them carry ſome remains of that primitive ſound. Neither is it unlikely that *Aber* (*B* and *U* being promiſcuouſly founded in ancient words) has ſome relation to it. And *Avon* a river, though the Latin *Amnis* might afterwards take its ſpring from that ſound, may very well be a diminutive of it. *Awyn* or *Ewyn ſpuma vel aqua albicans*, i. e. *Aw-wyn*; *Aweddwr*, *aqua limpida*; *Auvwys* or *Affwys*, *Abyſſus*, do all ſeem to retain this *(au)* in their compoſition, as ſignificative of water or of ſome eſſential property of it, in their firſt ſyllables.

So alſo we may take notice of many compound words terminating in *au* or *aw*, which make that element their main and principal *Suppoſitum*. *Manaw*, the Iſle of Man; *Llydaw*, Armorica; *Gene-au* or *Geneva*, i. e. the mouth of the lake; *Llyn Llwydaw*, in Caernarvonſhire; *Alaw* a river in Angleſey; *Gwlaw*, rain; all theſe being waters themſelves, or having their principal idea and character from water, may well juſtify their derivation from that origin. Neither is it unreaſonable to ſuppoſe that the Gauliſh or Celtic or old Britiſh word *au* or *aw*, ſignifying water, might ſome time have an additional termination affixed to it, perhaps to differ and ſpecificate the import of the word; as when it

was

was made to mean particular brooks or rivers, it might then be pronounced *Awy*, as we find it in Ireland, *Awyduff*, black or deep water; or more contractedly *Wy*, as in Wales, where it terminates the compound names of many rivers. Which conjecture of it, as none can deem it to be unreasonable, so it being granted probable on the instances I have produced, it not only facilitates the probability of the thing in question, but seems also to account for the etymology of the names of many rivers; as *Dowrdwy*, *Elwy*, *Medwy*, *Lligwy*, *Conwy*, *Gwy*, and many more so terminating, which otherwise can scarce be accounted for. And indeed the Greek Πόλαμος, a river (*m* and *u* being anciently equivalent) and the river Tame in England have some affinity with it.

However the composition of the name stands, it is most certain that we have evident tokens that the compound name itself, *Main-au* or corruptly *Mæne*, hath been anciently used and applied to such places, as the word in the sense I have now explained it naturally imports.

For confirmation of which we may observe, that the three narrowest streights about the isle of Great-Britain have in and about them some remains of the name *Mæne*; either extant in those very places to this day, or were found there in former ages, and recorded by authors of good credit. And those narrowest streights of all the British seas will, I suppose, be allowed to be, viz. the first in Kent, over-against Normandy in France; the second in Pembrokeshire in Wales; and the third at or near the Mul of Galway in the kingdom of Scotland. These two last being the shortest cuts from the isle of Great-Britain to the kingdom of Ireland, as the first is to the coast of Normandy in France.

Now for the FIRST of these in Kent, just upon the edge of that *Fretum* between us and the Gallic shore, the Roman writers, as the *Itinerary* of Antonine shews, place *Portus Limanis*, *Limene*, as in Ptolomy. Shall I turn it into British, *Porthladd Mæne?* And near that on the same *Fretum* is old *Romene*, *Rhos-Mæne* perhaps, now Rumney-marsh. It is not to be passed by here, that the Britons called the port where Cæsar landed, which was on this *Fretum*, *Pwyth* or *Porth-Meinlas*; and indeed the Greek Λιμήν may very well be a composition of those two monosyllables, *Lle* & *Main*, i. e. *Llemain*, *Porth* or ferry.

SECONDLY, On the shore of that short cut or passage from St. David's in Pembrokeshire to the West of Ireland; St. David's Point there is called *Menevia* and *Meniw* to this day. And it is no less observable that the inhabitants of the opposite Irish side of that narrow sea are by Ptolomy called *Menapii*, and their city (now Wexford) *Menapia* (with

no great alteration of ſound, beſides what is commonly incident to the diverſe termination of different languages) from the Britiſh *Mainau* or *Mæne*, i. e. a ſtreight or narrow ſea; as it now is: And it was formerly, if *Giraldus Cambrenſis* gueſſed right, much narrower in that place. The two abutting promontories on each ſide being of one name, I take it to be reaſonably ſuppoſed, that they took that name from the fret or paſſage on which they bordered. I own that the *Menapii* in Ireland are by authors reckoned as a colony of the *Menapii* of Gallia Belgica; but if we conſider that a narrow ſea might have given them that name, as I ſuppoſe it did to thoſe in Ireland, it the more confirms the ſuppoſition; ſince they lived ſo near the Belgic ſtreights that it may be well preſumed they had that name from them.

THIRDLY, In that ſhort cut alſo from the *Mul* of Galway to the kingdom of Ireland, called by Ptolomy *Novantum Promontorium*, we may find juſt by a bay or *Eſtuary*, called by Ptolomy *Æſtuarium Abravani*; which one may eaſily, and perhaps as truly, deduce from the Britiſh *Aber-Vene* or *Aber-Mene*, as bordering on that narrow *Fretum*; though Mr. Camden, from whoſe judgment I would not willingly vary, gueſſes the name as well as the water of that river to come from a lake called *Lough-Rian*, ſome miles diſtant from that *Eſtuary*.

But granting that Mr. Camden's *Lough-Rian* may pretend to the etymology of *Abravanus*, as if called *Aber-Rian*, yet ſince he gives no other reaſon for it but the ſimilitude of names, which ſurely are not ſo near and very like in ſound, as to deſerve to be fetched together from ſo great a diſtance; and *Avon*, i. e. *Aber-Avon* comes nearer to it, but that it is too *undiſtinguiſhing* a name; I am inclined to believe it was not called from that *Lough*; and that, becauſe Ptolomy calls it not *Abrianus*, but *Abravanus*, as the beſt copies have it. And eſpecially ſince we find the two other ſhorteſt cuts over our narrow ſeas retain in them the evident marks of the name of *Mæne*, I cannot conclude this third alſo to have been any other than *Aber-Vene* or *Aber-Mæne*, *V* and *M* in the old Britiſh being but varying of caſes in one and the ſame word: And that more particularly, not only becauſe *Abravanus* comes neareſt the Britiſh *Mæne*, both in matter of ſound and ſignification, which may of itſelf vindicate the derivation; but alſo, which will add ſomewhat to the probability of the conjecture, becauſe I find many ſmall *Fretums* retaining ſtill ſomething of that name; as the *Fretum* between Ramſey-Iſle, and another between Cardigan-Iſland and the adjacent ſhores, are to this day called *Mæne*'s. Nay, Ramſay-Iſle itſelf was by geogra-

phers called Λίμνος and *Limenia* probably on that acconut. And I am told there is another *Fretum* in the county of Buchanan in Scotland called by the name of *Mæne*. And laſtly, on that ſtreight between Hantſhire and the Iſle of Wight, there is a ſmall town on the edge of that narrow ſea called * *Limington* or *Tref Le-Main*; and the ancient inhabitants there were called *Mean-Vari*, not improbably from *Main-Vór*, a narrow ſea; and there are three Hundreds near adjoining, which are yet called *Mean*'s-Borough; Eaſt-*Mean* and Weſt-*Mean*, bearing ſome tokens of that Britiſh name.

From theſe obſervations I am now induced to conclude this compound word to have been anciently the common appellative of ſuch narrowneſſes and ſtreightnings of ſeas, as afford the ſhorteſt paſſages from one land to another. And therefore, that as this narrow *Fretum* or arm of ſea, which ſevers the Iſle of Angleſey from the continent, being but a ſhort cut over, was on that account by our firſt namers of places called *Main-au*, or more contractedly *Mæne*; as it is likely the other mentioned places were; ſo alſo that tract of land bordering on the *Fretum*, or on the out-let of it, came, as was very uſual, to be denominated from it, and called *Cwmmwd Mæne*; which I take to be ſufficient to offer for the etymology of the name of that diviſion in this Iſle of Angleſey.

* This was called *Limine* by the Saxons. See Dr. Hicks's Diſſ. Epiſt. p. 215.

The END of the FIRST ESSAY.

THE

THE

SECOND ESSAY:

CLEARING SOME

DIFFICULTIES

IN THE

PRECEDING ACCOUNTS;

Enlarging on ſome PASSAGES thereof,

AND

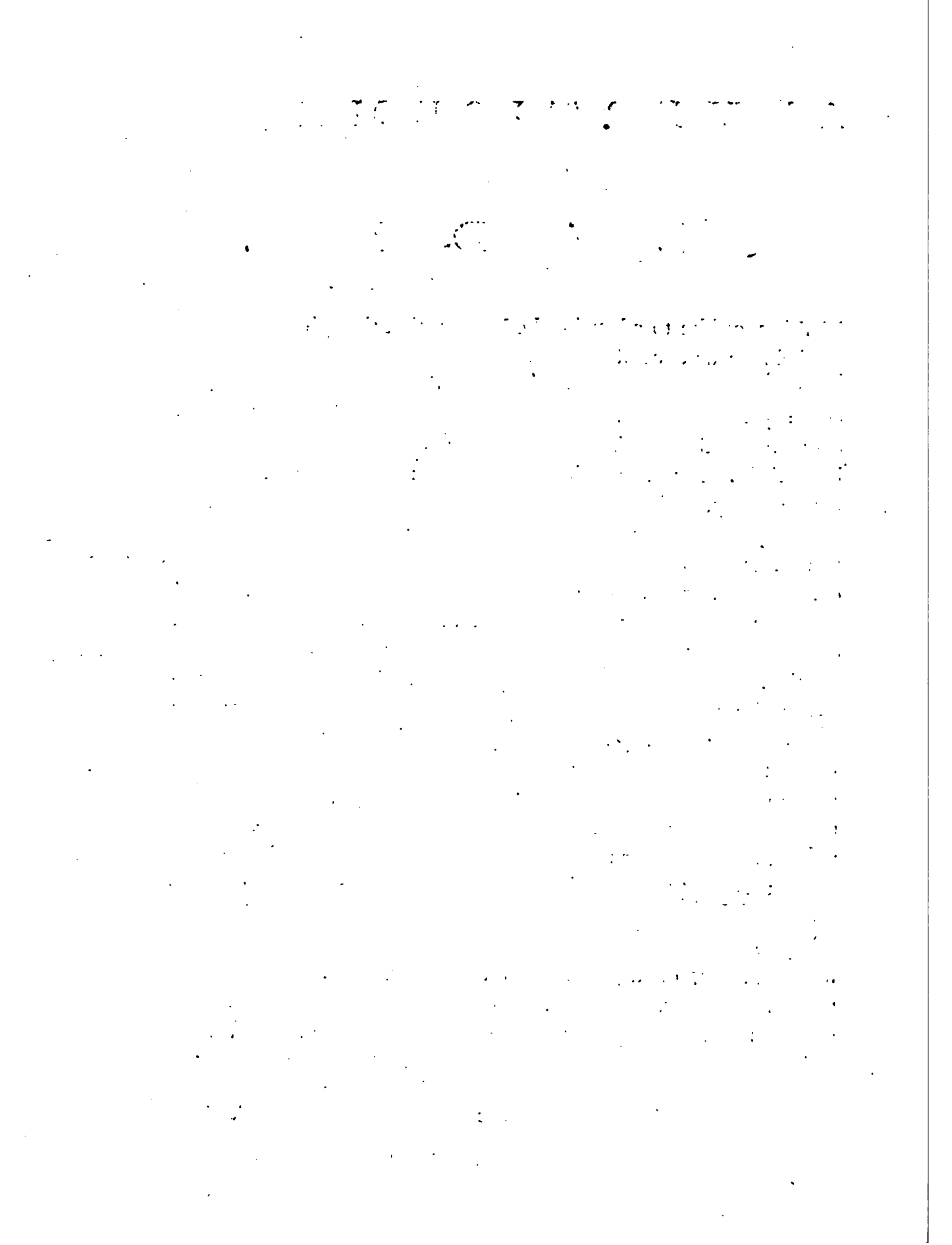
Anſwering ſome OBJECTIONS which have been made thereto.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE

READER.

IT is requiſite to advertiſe the Reader, that though this Essay, being a defence of ſome paſſages in the preceding one, takes in the ſame heads of argument in the main as the other had done; yet does it not *actum agere*, as a mere repetition, but in order to bring them to bear a new force, and to ſet them off in a better light. For ſince teſtimonies in that remoteneſs of time cannot be many, and the evidence ariſing from them may not to all perſons perhaps be ſo prevalent and to the purpoſe in one view as in another, it is reaſonable towards making the beſt of them, to examine and turn them on every ſide and in every light. And therefore the Reader will ſoon perceive that every teſtimony and every argument handled in the former Essay, when re-aſſumed in this, are improved in every part, and better diſpoſed to evince the concluſion they are produced for; which the author hopes will ſufficiently apologize for his bringing the ſame arguments twice on the ſtage; which is no more than in common caſes to call the ſame witneſſes to be re-examined, in order to obtain from them a greater evidence of truth and reality of fact in the matter ſought for than could perhaps otherwiſe be done; and as that is every where juſtifiable, ſo I preſume in the caſe before us. And beſides, ſometimes from one ſingle affirmative teſtimony, if it conſiſts of a propoſition, there may ariſe matters for ſeveral proofs, of different ſorts and tendencies; and therefore when ſuch occur, that teſtimony may, as often as occaſion requires, be juſtly called for and repeated, and the doing of it be reckoned very reaſonable and warrantable.



THE SECOND ESSAY:

CLEARING SOME DIFFICULTIES IN THE PRECEDING ACCOUNTS.

THE way and method I undertook in the foregoing account (to which this ſecond part by way of ſupplement relates) to repreſent what I conceived not altogether unworthy of obſervation in the antiquities of the Britiſh nation in general, and of the Iſle of Angleſey in particular, concerning the firſt planting and inhabiting of them, is, I muſt confeſs, for the moſt part meerly conjectural; having in thoſe remote diſtances of time only a few teſtimonies of ſacred ſcriptures as ſure and undoubted principles, and the aſſiſtances of natural and moral evidence, where thoſe authorities fail us, to build the beſt of our gueſſes and probabilities in theſe matters upon. Which indeed in thoſe obſcurities of time, whatever we may pretend to little hiſtorical hints and traditions, are all we have and can rely upon, before the light of hiſtory began to dawn and illuſtrate the world. And as it cannot be preſumed that this light made any progreſs in the diſcovery of human affairs, and recording of them for the uſe of poſterity, till ſome time after the ſettling and civilizing of nations, and that too in the moſt polite countries, where the uſe of letters began to prevail; ſo in this corner of the world, far enough from theſe early advantages, we muſt be content to grope in the dark, till ſome rays of that hiſtorical light begin to appear and direct our enquiries after what we may warrantably rely upon as truth and certainty.

On this bottom of things, I muſt confeſs alſo, as I have little of certainty, ſo as little of reaſon to take up with the commonly received traditions of Samothes, Albion and Brutus; conceiving thoſe relations to be at beſt but ſignificant doubts, and apprehending it always a much greater and more unexceptionable honour for this people and nation, at firſt ſpread over Great-Britain and Ireland and the iſles adjoining, to have been *Aboriginal*, that is, the firſt poſſeſſors of the land (as indeed the beſt lights of hiſtory give ſufficient grounds to acknowlege us to be) and in which we may more warrantably acquieſce; than that we ſhould trouble ourſelves with contending for our deſcent and origination from the ruins of any *diſgraced* or *beaten* people, eſpecially from Troy, the moſt unlikely part of the world; whoſe people the fabulous Greeks extremely magnified, to aggrandize their own conqueſts and valour; and from whom their poetical wits took the firſt ſubjects of their dramatical inventions; and likely others, that of ours. Yet that one Brutus, of Trojan extraction, did, ſome ages after its firſt planting, with a party of Greeks arrive in Britain, and by ſome means obtain the ſovereignty, and gave it that name which it ever after enjoyed, is but what is on many accounts very probable. And ſo far I think the ſtory may be allowed to have ſome truth in it, not conſidered as a planting and peopling of the land, but as ſome great revolution that happened long after.

But for all that, if it appears and conſequently will be allowed, that the Britiſh people were the firſt known poſſeſſors of the Britiſh iſles, and indeed the beſt and cleareſt accounts we have make that poſſeſſion original; which is the higheſt reputation in reſpect of antiquity, and the ſtrongeſt title in point of right, that any nation can pretend to, it will then be highly reaſonable, and but a juſt procedure in us to fix there. And having in it ſo eſtabliſhed and well-atteſted a foundation of our origin, acknowleged by many, denied by few, it will be ſome injuſtice in us to recede from it in favour of any other more groundleſs ſurmiſes and traditions, and a ſort of ingratitude to Providence to ſeem fond of a more novel extraction, which when granted to be true, would but leſſen our eſteem in point of antiquity, and weaken even the beſt and ſureſt of titles—*Et Deus terram dedit filiis hominum*—God himſelf, as it were, enfeoffing and giving livery and ſeiſin to all original planters, Pſal. cxv. 16. But to proceed.

As for a vindication and defence of a conjectural method within the verge of hiſtory, we may have this to ſay in general, that although hiſtorical

hiſtorical certainties and well-atteſted evidences be what we may moſt ſafely rely upon, and warrantably acquieſce in, in the accounts of time and human tranſactions; yet when we are gone beyond thoſe periods, and have launched into the deep obſcurities of time, we muſt and ought carefully to attend to, and examine every the leaſt glimmering of information, which we can lay hold on, either in the nature of things, or in allowed authentic traditions relating to them; and from them, and by comparing and adjuſting one thing with another, adapting cauſes to effects, and effects to cauſes, as juſtly and as agreeably as is poſſible, it ought to be allowed us to form ſuch concluſions as will amount at leaſt to ſome probability and appearance of truth; which is all that can be reaſonably expected in ſuch caſes.

In order to this, it will not be amiſs for the better conceiving of the matter in hand, in the firſt place, to take notice of two things very neceſſary to form and eſtabliſh a conjectural diſcourſe or a rational way of enquiry. Firſt, Principles or grounds of evidence well choſen, cleared, and aſcertained. Secondly, Inferences and deductions naturally and juſtly drawn and concluded from them. Now theſe principles are in themſelves nothing elſe than either cauſes or effects of things well fixed and aſſerted; or teſtimonies, divine and human, well grounded and confirmed. And what ſubjects or matter ſoever fall more or leſs under the diſcovery of theſe lights and evidences, whether thoſe ſubjects be purely natural as phyſiology in general, or mixed, viz. partly natural and partly moral, under which is hiſtory and chronology, they may in a tolerable meaſure (more certain informations being wanting) be more or leſs accounted for, in a probable hypothetical way.

For, as for natural theories and phyſiology in general, the explication of them is granted by all to be conjectural. And grant it we muſt; for no other knowlege can be attained of the frame and compoſition of nature, of the motion, texture and conſtitution of her parts, and other particulars of phyſiological ſcience, but what is derived from, and merely depending on, the light and evidence of theſe principles.

And this being in general premiſed, juſt the ſame plea we have in particular for our accounting for the affairs and tranſactions of many of the firſt ages of the *poſt-diluvian* world. They are now, with thoſe mentioned difficulties in the Frame of Nature, equally obſcure and intricate to us; and what we would attempt to unfold and diſtinguiſh in the one and the other, muſt be equally in the ſame way and procedure; that is, by fixing and grounding our obſervations upon ſuch lights and

certainties as occur to us. And by making genuine and pertinent applications of thoſe certainties, proceeding therein juſtly and regularly from certain cauſes to the moſt probable effects, and from certain effects to the moſt probable cauſes, according as the lights and evidences of them in thoſe involved antiquities, are to be met with and diſcovered by us.

Now, if this way of procedure be allowed in the hiſtory of nature, upon meer pretence of its involvedneſs and otherwiſe unſurmountable darkneſs and intricacy, I ſhould very gladly be informed the reaſon why the ſame method ſhould not be as juſtly purſued, upon the ſame ſuppoſal of obſcurity, in the hiſtory of human tranſactions; ſeeing we may meet *there* with as good, if not perhaps much better grounds to build on our reaſonable gueſſes. And I doubt not but the reaſon of it will appear very manifeſt and convincing, if we rightly conſider the condition of theſe two ſubjects we are to make our gueſſes in, that is, nature and human actions. Many of the ends and deſigns of nature, we are well aware, are utterly unknown to us; and many more of her motions and particular ways of acting plainly ſurmount and baffle the moſt ſollicitous of our enquiries about them; and yet it is well known, that we are allowed to be as buſy as we will with her in our gueſſings at things, provided we can abſtain from the diſobliging fault of impoſing and dogmatizing.

And therefore at the ſame time ſhall it be thought ſtrange and unhiſtorical, that when we wind up the ſucceſſive affairs of a nation, till the clew of records be quite drawn out, and we are left to grope and wander in the dark receſſes of time? Shall it, I ſay, be thought ſtrange, that in ſuch caſes we pick up here and there ſuch ſcattered marks and remnants of truth, as we meet with, and improve them into a few probable concluſions of human actions? eſpecially when thoſe very actions we account for in that way are in themſelves ſo very agreeable to our enquiries, the ends and motions of them are ſo intelligible and familiar to us, that upon a ſuppoſed acted principle of reaſon we may well conclude the ſpecifications of many of them (ſo conſidered) to have been no other than what we ourſelves would have acted under the like circumſtances. And therefore ſince we are on this account better judges of the probability of human than of natural actions, we ought not in reaſon to be denied the liberty of making a few modeſt gueſſes, when it comes in our way, in the obſcurities of the one, when men are allowed,

allowed, nay oft admired for their wild and extravagant conjectures in the intricacies of the other.

Now what is ſaid in this particular is not to juſtify any extravagant rambles and groundleſs conjectures in the affairs of antiquity; but to vindicate the allowableneſs of a conjectural method in the accounts of time, and in the antiquities of nations, provided no other means of diſcovery are left unto us, and that the matter be not very important, by fixing here and there, in thoſe greateſt obſcurities, on ſome ſolid grounds and irrefragable certainties to build up what we make our concluſions. And more particularly, by our fit and appoſite bringing forth the lights and evidences of one nation and people to illuſtrate and aſſiſt the obſcurities of the other; which when it is duly performed in proper circumſtances, will, I preſume, fall under the condemnation of none, but ſuch as will themſelves thereby incur the moſt juſt cenſure of unequal judges.

To give ſome inſtance of this in our Britiſh nation in particular; without this method, we can aſcend no higher than the Roman conqueſt. And indeed a long time after that, what have we of the Britiſh affairs but inferences and conjectures, on which we build the chiefeſt accounts of our national tranſactions, at theſe remote times? And although it muſt be granted that by this procedure we cannot nicely determine any matters of fact, in the planting, improving and eſtabliſhing of this or any other nation or people; yet ſome of the more general actions of thoſe affairs, as they depend on obvious and familiar cauſes, may be, in ſome meaſure, and with ſome reſtriction, explicated and accounted for. For even in thoſe remote perplexities and deepeſt obſcurities of time, there are ſome glimmerings of light to be taken notice and to be made uſe of to inform and direct a regular enquiry. And theſe are ſome of them.

First, We have Scripture Light; the divine teſtimony aſſures us, that our firſt ſtock of people travelled hither from the coaſt of Armenia and Babylon, and that they were of the race of Japheth, who planted the Weſtern Iſles, and conſequently the iſles of Britain and Ireland.

Secondly, We have Moral Light; that is, we are morally aſſured, that common reaſon and natural prudence conducted the progreſſion of theſe people, from the place of their firſt ſpreading, through the faireſt, the eaſieſt, and leaſt encumbered ways; where mighty rivers, dreadful mountains, and other unpaſſable bars and obſtacles gave leaſt impediment to their motion and progreſs.

Thirdly,

THIRDLY, We have Geographical Light that plainly ſhews us, that this fair, eaſy, unobſtacled way or paſſage from the plains of Babel to the Britiſh iſles was through the vaſt and winding plains of Aſia, to that corner of it now called Anatolia; and thence ſuch people as croſſed the Ægean Sea and entered Italy, their way of dilating themſelves and enlarging their colonies was through the length of Italy, Lombardy, over the Helvetick Alps, to the plains of Gallia; and there being hemmed in on the one ſide by the Pyrenæan mountains and the ocean, and on the other ſide by the river Rhine, they moved directly to the Gallic ſtreights and over to the Britiſh iſles. Such a progreſſion of the firſt poſt-diluvian planters, through the eaſieſt and faireſt tracts of land, where they met with leaſt rubs and impediments in their motion, is as natural to conceive, and as reaſonable to conclude, as that a torrent or flux of water will take its courſe through the eaſieſt and leaſt obſtructed ways or paſſages.

FOURTHLY, We have Arithmetical Light; that is, a juſt conſideration of the longevity of the firſt planters, and of the length and difficulty of the way, together with a calculation of the encreaſe of mankind by doubling certain periods, according to the ingenious Sir William Petty's rule, may afford us a pretty near gueſs by what time after the univerſal deluge the Iſle of Great-Britain might come to be thoroughly planted and inhabited.

FIFTHLY, The names of certain places give us light, not only to gueſs what language was ſpoken by theſe firſt people, but alſo by what way they came and made their motion hither. * *Tir hên* and *Y Penwyn* i. e. Appenine in Italy: *Uxelodunum*, *Alexia* i. e. *Uchel Ddinas*, and *Arlech* in France—the Romans often writing *x* for *χ*—and many more ancient names I could mention, are good and pregnant teſtimonies of that particular.

I ſhall multiply no more inſtances of this kind. It is ſufficient to obſerve, that in the greateſt obſcurities and unrecorded paſſages of time there are ſome glimmerings of information here and there to be laid hold on, and not to be altogether neglected; which lights being well compared and adjuſted together, may be made uſe of, even in the higheſt origin of nations, to repreſent and ſet forth, though not any particular turns of action, which indeed are only tranſmitted by records and tradition, yet ſo much of the kind and quality of thoſe actions, as may

* *Tir hên*, old land. *Y Penwyn*, white head. *Uchel Ddinas*, high city. *Arlech*, upon a ſtone or rock.

ſerve

ſerve to diſtinguiſh themſelves and the times they were acted in, and thereby afford ſuch ſatisfaction as can in that caſe be expected by a reaſonable enquirer.

On theſe grounds therefore I have, in the accounts I have given of the antiquities of this ſmall iſland, been induced to proceed in the moſt plain, eaſy and natural way; viz. Firſt, By preſuming our Britiſh anceſtors to have been the firſt planters and poſſeſſors of our land: Secondly, By deriving their deſcent and by tracing their footſteps, as early and alſo as directly as was poſſible, from Armenia and Babel to this place: And, Thirdly, By ſelecting and fixing on ſuch undeniable certainties, and recorded matters of fact, and circumſtances of human actions, done and practiſed at that time when mankind was but as one nation, before it dwindled and ſeparated into varieties of people; and that being done, by drawing from thoſe evidences and recorded matters of fact, ſuch concluſions and conſequences as could moſt fairly be deduced from them, and would, as I conceived, moſt agreeably and intelligibly account for and explain the grounds and reaſons of thoſe rights, cuſtoms, and other antiquities of our Britiſh nation in general, as well as what particularly relates to this Iſle of Angleſey. Which is what I attempted in the preceding Eſſay; and what in anſwer to ſome objections, and for the better clearing of ſome difficulties, I ſhall here in this a little further enlarge upon.

And therefore ſince great objections have been made to the ſtrength and validity of ſome chief paſſages in the foregoing accounts; and tho' the opinions and conjectures I preſumed to offer muſt perhaps yield at laſt to the weight of thoſe objections; yet they ſeemed to me ſo well grounded, that I cannot quit my hold of them before I give them the defence they deſerve, and ſhew the reaſons which induced me to eſpouſe and eſtabliſh them; leaving the deciſion to the judgments of thoſe who will take the pains to peruſe and conſider them. The objections are theſe:

Objection I.

First, It has been objected that the notion I have offered of our *Cromleche*, *Karnedde*, *Meini Gwyr*, &c. is too much ſtrained, and too remote and foreign to the circumſtances of this nation. Namely, why ſhould the Hebrew tongue give names to our *Cromleche* and *Karnedde*, when our own language may ſufficiently account for their etymology? Or how could Noah's ſtatutes and the patriarchal practice influence and

direct our religious rites and eſtabliſhments in ſo remote a corner of the world, ſo widely diſtant from the place and poſſibility of ſuch inſtructions? Our ancient rites and cuſtoms were groſly heatheniſh and ſuperſtitious, and therefore rather to be reckoned here, as in other countries, the fruits and productions of mankind's depraved and perverted morals, than that ſo foul a copy ſhould be preſumed to have been taken from ſo fair an original.

Objection II.

Secondly, It has been objected, that the proofs I have offered for the Druids chief reſidence in the Iſle of Mona are no more concluſive to that particular iſland than to any other part of the nation; ſince there are in many other places of England, Scotland, and Wales, more remarkable, vaſt, and ſtupendous monuments—preſumed of Druidiſm—than any that can be ſhewed in the Iſle of Angleſey. And that it is much more reaſonable to ſuppoſe, ſince the ancient Britons were divided and cantoned into many governments; and ſince Cæſar mentions only that ſupreme place in Gallia; that then every province or petty government in Britain had their own ſet of thoſe religious prieſts reſiding and acting among them; and if they owed ſubjection to any ſupreme head, it muſt be to that one of Gallia, where we are ſure by Cæſar's authority there was a head Druid; and not that in all the little governments of Britain, the whole order of theſe men ſhould compoſe one hierarchy, and for the moſt part live and reſide together in one particular place or territory; no ancient author ever mentioning ſuch a reſidence.

Objection III.

Thirdly, It has been objected, that theſe ancient Druids cannot upon any good authority be entitled to ſo conſiderable a ſhare of knowledge and learning, as is uſually attributed to them; ſince the nation in general at that time laboured under the greateſt barbariſm, and the groſſeſt ignorance that can be imagined; which cannot well be preſumed they would have done under the ſuperintendance of men of ſuch general virtue, ſkill and knowledge, as the Britiſh Druids are reported to have been maſters of.

Theſe are the main difficulties I am concerned to clear and anſwer for: Which I ſhall endeavour to do in the order they are ſet down—premiſing firſt under each head a few preliminary propoſitions or allowed:

lowed poſtulata, by the light and evidence of which, the conjectures I have formed and offered will be the better underſtood, and more firmly ſettled and eſtabliſhed.

As to the firſt objection, the main ſtreſs of it is levelled at the accounts which were given of the original erection, names and uſes of our *Cromleche*, *Karnedde*, and *Meini Gwyr*, viz. that they were all of them appurtenances and ſome retained relics of the firſt and moſt ancient religion, profeſſed and practiſed of old by the ante-diluvian patriarchs; and handed down by Noah and his ſons, and by them propagated among the new race of mankind in the re-peopling the poſt-diluvian world; many of which original rites and cuſtoms being (as I aſſerted) in all likelihood conveyed by the firſt planters, or by ſuch as came next after them, in proceſs of time came to be improved and cultivated into a national ſcheme of what was afterward called Druidical religion and worſhip. This is the ſum of what is aſſerted in that particular, and the grounds of that aſſertion, I ſhall endeavour to lay open by the light and evidence of theſe propoſitions following.

Proposition I.

It is generally allowed, that the moſt ancient primitive religion, both before and for ſome time after the univerſal deluge, conſiſted moſtly of the inſtituted rites and performances of oblations and ſacrifices; and that theſe alſo neceſſarily ſuppoſe conſecrations and altars, that is, places and things dedicated and ſet apart for the worſhip and ſervice of God. Of this the Moſaical Hiſtory is undeniable warrant, giving us an account of Cain and Abel's oblations before the flood; and immediately after it of Noah's building an altar, and offering ſacrifice unto the Lord, Gen. viii. 20.

Proposition II.

It is alſo allowed, that the firſt language in which the patriarchs' primitive religion was expreſſed and worded, and the rites and cuſtoms, the adjuncts and appurtenances of it, denominated and diſtinguiſhed, at leaſt in the main parts and ſubſtance of it, was what has been after called the Hebrew tongue; and alſo that the names impoſed by that language were generally ſuch as betokened the nature or ſome eminent properties of the things named, or were compounded of ſuch as did ſo. The firſt part of this propoſition is pregnantly atteſted by almoſt all the ante-diluvian names recorded in ſcripture, particularly thoſe of the pa-

triarchs: Which names—for inſtance ſake—in conſort together exhibit a conciſe and wonderful ſcheme and prophecy, in that language, of the reſtitution of depraved mankind by a promiſed Meſſiah; as appears by the explanation of the patriarchal names in the following table:

ADAM,	Man,
SETH,	ſet or placed
ENOSH,	in miſery
KAINAN,	lamentable,
MAHALEEL,	bleſſed GOD
JARED,	ſhall come down,
HENOCH,	teaching,
METHUSCHELA,	that his death will ſend
LAMECH,	to humbled ſmitten man
NOAH,	conſolation.

which amounts to this, that when theſe names are written at length, the Hebrew purport of them is, "That man ſet or placed in miſery very lamentable, God bleſſed for evermore, will in his due time come down, teaching the world, that his death will bring to miſerable man, reſt, refreſhment, and conſolation," Gen. v. 29. The Hebrew Lexicons abundantly prove this ſignification of theſe names, deriving *Kainan* from *Kun* or *Konen*, i. e. lamenting; which it may well admit of, and is more pertinent and agreeable with the current ſenſe of this prophecy, than from *Kanna*, to purchaſe or poſſeſs, which our expoſitors generally aſcribe it to. And the latter part of this propoſition is evident from the exact ſignificancy of many ante-diluvian words, particularly from Adam's calling his wife *Iſcha*, becauſe taken out of him who was *Iſch* in that tongue, viz. Man. And his firſt-born *Kain*, from the word *Kanna*, importing to receive or poſſeſs, ſaying, *Kanneti iſch æth Jehovah*, I have gotten a man [from] the Lord, Gen. iv. 1.

PROPOSITION III.

That there was a ſcheme of this patriarchal theology preſerved by Noah, and by him preached and propagated to poſterity; as certain general rules and precepts, called by the Jews, "The * Statutes of the Sons of Noah," becauſe delivered by him, and preſcribed and inculcated

* Mitzoth bene Noah. See Remarks, Prop. III.

by

by them to ſucceeding poſterity; among which precepts, it is certain that ſacrifice was a principal one, and therefore muſt be ſuppoſed to comprehend particular rules and * ordinances under it, directing the various rites and ceremonies of that ſacred action. This has been atteſted by an ancient Jewiſh tradition, and has been acknowledged by many in all Chriſtian ages. And the latter part of this propoſition is no other than a juſt and natural conſequence of the former.

Proposition IV.

That on the diſperſion of mankind at Babel, and the confuſion of that primitive tongue, the minds of thoſe diſperſed people under that heavy ſupernatural ſtupor, then by divine vengeance inflicted on them for their impious attempt, retained and preſerved nevertheleſs in that miſerable oblivion ſome † faint ſhadows of ſuch words, and ſome obſcure relics of ſuch objects, as had made before the ſtrongeſt, the deepeſt, and moſt durable impreſſions on their thoughts and imaginations. And ſuch muſt be chiefly and principally of thoſe names and things, which either related to the viſible acts and performances of religion, or to the more neceſſary and important concerns of life. The firſt part is confirmed by evident proofs from the event of things; it being plainly to be obſerved, that as the moſt viſible and public acts of religion, namely, ſacrifice, have been retained, remembered and practiſed by almoſt all nations; ſo the moſt important affecting words of that primitive tongue have likewiſe crept with ſome little variations into moſt of the mother-tongues. And the latter part of this propoſition is evinced from a juſt view and conſideration of the affections of human nature; where we plainly ſee the impreſſions of religion ſo ſtrong and unconquerable, that few or no means or accidents that occur are of ſufficient force to deface and obliterate them.

Proposition V.

That the Hebrew tongue (though in itſelf of a narrow extent, yet in the ſcheme and ſtructure of it) abounds in a diverſity of words of one and the ſame ſignification, more or leſs as the thing or action expreſſed is of greater or leſſer concern and importance to human affairs; and thoſe ſynonyma equally expreſſing the thing ſignified, the evidence produced

* See Gen. xxvi. 5. where Abraham is ſaid to have obeyed precepts and commandments, and to have kept ſtatutes and laws, before God inſtituted the Moſaick law.

† See Remarks, Prop III.

from

from one word proves and concludes the ſame thing of another word which carries the ſame purport, and is of the ſame extent and ſignification. The former is evidenced by the grammarians of that language; and the latter is the natural reſult of the conformity and agreement between the fixed and determined meaning of all words or ſigns and their juſt and proper ideas, or things meant and ſignified. Theſe are the grounds I lay down and inſiſt upon; and the applications I ſhall make in the clearing of theſe objections will be chiefly ſupported by the ſtrength and evidence of them.

CROMLECHE.

Of theſe *Cromleche*; Firſt, Their make and ſtructure; and, Secondly, Their name, will be applied to account for their original uſe and inſtitution; the ſettling and determining the accounts of our deſolate monuments and viſible remains of antiquity being of ſingular uſe to eſtabliſh an allowed Archæology of our country.

First, The make and ſtructure of theſe monuments (which are generally large, rude, flattiſh ſtones raiſed on other pitched and upright ones of the like irregularity and coarſeneſs) ſeem to indicate that they were originally erected for altars. Now it is plain that altars [by Propoſition I.] were an appurtenance of the religion of the patriarchal age: And indeed the accounts we have in the ſacred records of theſe firſt altars will ſhew that the conſtruction and other circumſtances of them come very near to the make and figure of our *Cromleche*.

For it is there ſaid, that as ſoon as Noah and his family were come out of the ark, they builded an altar unto the Lord, Gen. viii. 20. Now to build—בנה *Ædificare* in the original—conſtantly imports the erection or raiſing of ſtones one upon another. And this notion of the word is ſomewhat exegetically amplified in another place, viz. Haggai ii. 15. where ſuch a conſtruction is expreſſed, אבן על אבן * viz. ſtone laid on a ſtone. And alſo the Chaldee word for an altar, viz. *Madbecha*, from *Debach*, i. e. *Strues Lapidum*, as the word imports, that is, a parcel of ſtones orderly erected, much confirms it. Such, it ſeems, were their altars then; and ſuch are our *Cromleche* at this day. And as our *Cromleche* are made up of very rude and unhewn ſtones, ſo we may well ſuppoſe, the circumſtances of many of thoſe firſt altars after the flood could afford them to be no other; particularly Noah's,

* *Even al Even*, that is, Br. *Maen ar Faen*, to which our Saviour ſeems to refer, Mat. xxiv. 2.

who at his firſt coming out of the ark could have but ſuch natural, coarſe, unhewn ſtones as the mountain afforded, to erect his altar. And further it is preſumptive alſo, that they had then a ſtrict precept for ſuch an erection, if that—Exod. xx. 25. "Thou ſhalt not build an altar of hewn ſtones."—be (as a great part of the chapter is) a repetition of the old original law, which the patriarchs before that time in all likelihood ſtrictly obſerved, and other nations, probably after their example, as ſtrictly followed. Hence it will appear not improbable, that our *Cromleche* are but the remaining effects of that ancient law and cuſtom of *not ſtriking a tool* upon the ſtones of their *altars*, but to build them up of the rudeſt ones they could meet with. Which law (to trace it by thoſe effects) we may well conclude to have prevailed likewiſe in theſe countries; and that theſe mentioned monuments of ours are ſome of the remains of that ancient inſtitution and cuſtom.

SECONDLY, The name alſo, viz. *Cromleche*, may ſeem to be no other than a corrupt pronouncing of an original Hebrew name, viz. חמר לוח *Chemar-luach*, a burning or ſacrificing ſtone or table; or perhaps more likely, as I before intimated, from חרם לוח *Cherem-luch* or *luach*, i. e. a conſecrated or devoted ſtone or altar; as we find the word * *Cherem* applied to ſeveral devoted things. Both which names ſo compounded, that is, as well *Cherem* as *Chemar-luach*, corruptly *Cromlech*, do very well agree with the make and quality of theſe altars. And though the word by which thoſe altars are uſually expreſſed in ſcripture be *Miſbah*, from *Sabah*, to ſlay or ſacrifice; yet by Propoſition V. it is no argument that other names of it were not in uſe in thoſe ancient times, eſpecially ſuch as theſe I here inſtance; which names ſo cloſely correſponding with the nature and quality of thoſe altars, both in form and ſignification, might very well by Propoſition IV. be retained and conveyed with the uſes of them by our firſt anceſtors into theſe countries.

It may be further obſerved, that our language yet retains ſome other words that have great reſemblance in their ſignification, as well as in their ſound, with original words relating to ſacrifice; particularly with עלות *Gnoloth*, i. e. burnt-offerings: Out of which word it is not improbable our *Golwyth*, a ſlice of broiled fleſh, as that of the Heathen ſacrifices was; *Golycby* to pray, and *Golychwyd* a place of prayer, the

* Levit. xxvii. 28. Numb. xviii. 14. Joſh. vi. 18.

Latin

Latin *Colo* to worſhip, and probably alſo *Coelio* and *Coelcoeth*, may by Propoſition IV. be originally derived. And indeed if it be granted that theſe or ſome of them be truly deduced from *Gnoloth*, I can ſee no reaſon but that *Cromlech* may be as truly deduced from *Camar* or *Cæremluach*, as is here ſuppoſed. In ſhort, altars we are ſure we had; and if theſe *Cromleche* be not the remains of them, it will be very difficult, I think, to ſhew any other.

Neither are certain places called *Cremlyn*, perhaps corruptly from *Cremlwyn* (there being no ſtanding water in thoſe places by which they might be *Crem-lyn)* to be altogether deſpiſed; but rather to be taken as ſome collateral evidences for this ſignification of the names of theſe monuments. For if our anceſtors on the fore-mentioned account called their devoted or ſacrificing ſtones and altars *Cromleche*, they might very well call their ſacrificing groves, whereof we are aſſured they had a great many, by the name of *Cremlwyn*. The word *Crem*, a relic either of *Chærem* or *Chamar* as I preſume, having by a new propriety of acceptation, as many tranſplanted words uſually do, aſſumed unto it the idea and notion of ſacrifice; it is therefore on this account ſomewhat probable that *Crymmy*, i. e. "bowing and bending down the body," a poſture of worſhip, might be originally derived and metaphorically uſed from theſe *Cromleche*, becauſe people generally bowed and worſhipped at them; as words expreſſing ſome actions, are not ſeldom formed and qualified from the names and characters of their objects and local circumſtances, of which there are not a few inſtances. And if this be ſo, then the pretence that is made of deriving the word *Cromlech* from the Britiſh *Crom* or *Crwm*, a bending crooked poſture, will be of little uſe, except in this caſe only, when it is metaphorically taken from the name of ſuch places, and applied to peoples' bowing and worſhipping at them. And it is obſervable that the ſtone monument, mentioned Levit. xxvi. 1. by the name of אבן משכית *Even-Maſchcith*, which the vulgar tranſlation calls *Lapidem inſignem*, is by the Chaldee Paraphraſt called *Lapis incurvationis*, the ſtone of bowing or worſhipping; as if he had read it אבן משחויח from שחה *Incurvare*: Which may ſerve to ſhew, that as the ancients expreſſed adoration by the word *Incurvation* or bowing, ſo they wanted not their *Cromleche*, ſtones or altars denominated from the quality of that ſacred action.

It is true, that many perſons, and thoſe not meanly converſant in antiquities, take *Cromlech* to be derived from *Crom* or *Crwm*, as betokening properly the crooked bending poſture of thoſe erections. And ſince that

that is the only etymology I ever heard pretended to, on a meer Britiſh account; I ſhall here take the liberty to ſcan a little the congruity and coherence, which the propriety of the terms *Crom* and *Llech*—allowing them to have no relation at all to *Chærem* or *Chamar*, but to depend on a pure Britiſh etymon—have and bear in juſt ſignification to the condition and quality of the thing expreſſed. Now, I ſay, it is uſually thought that *Cromlech* does genuinely and fully expreſs the figure and poſture of the ſtone or monument which is ſo called, which indeed may be eaſily ſhewed it is far from doing.

For, if we conſider the propriety and common acceptation of the terms, we ſhall find that the notion and idea of the word *Crom* or *Crwm*, as it is commonly taken, meant and noted in our Britiſh Lexicons, has no agreement at all with the ſhape and figure of any of thoſe ſtones, that I could obſerve. For *Crom* or *Crwm* always denotes a thing bent and crookened in its own external ſuperficies; and is never expreſſed but of one individual ſubject. As in lines the curve is ever quite contrary to a right one, ſo in ſurfaces, which are but a complication of many lines, the curve in the conſtitution of it is oppoſite to the plane. And the very ſame notion, in ſubſtance, we may obſerve the vulgar to have of the word *Crom* or *Crwm* totally anſwering curve in the compleat idea of it; as is evident not only from the term itſelf, but alſo from the viſible concretes and compounds we have of that word, as *Gwar-Grwm*, *Crymman*, *Crimmog*, &c. in every one of which we may find it to be a curve and bended poſture of one individual ſubſtance.

Now *Crom* being ſuch in the common acceptation of it, how can it be applied to both the erect and incumbent flat ſtones of theſe monuments, which are never crooked in themſelves, but always of irregular plane ſurfaces? And to ſay that they, one with another, lie in an oblique and bended poſture, mends not the matter. For, as was before obſerved, every crooked thing muſt be ſo in itſelf, and in its own ſurface; for the inclinations, oblique poſitions, and incident contacts of diſtinct ſurfaces, are not properly a bending, but a joining and terminating in angles. And this notion all people have of it; no one ſaying, a crooked table, a crooked cheſt, &c. So that by what has been ſaid, it is, I ſuppoſe, ſomewhat manifeſt, that *Cromlech* cannot in any propriety of ſpeaking be deduced from *Crwm*, as betokening any curve or bended poſture, which the word *Llech* rejects as deſtructive of its notion and incompatible with it. And therefore the adjunct *Crom* muſt have ſome other ſignification to give an intelligible idea of the thing

t meant by the compoſition, which by the preſent Welſh we are not able o account for; unleſs it be taken metaphorically, as was before obſerved, from *Crymmy*, i. e. bowing and worſhipping at ſuch places. And if that be the reaſon of the name, then the matter falls even with my argument, and the concluſion comes to the ſame iſſue, viz. that both our *Cromlech* here, and that famous ſtone idol *Cromcruach*, in Ireland, deſcribed by * Mr. *Flaharty*, are derived from the word *Crymmy*, to bow and worſhip; and this *Crymmy* may be as fairly deduced from *Chærem* or *Chamar*, as from any other etymon by Propoſition I and IV. which is all I ſhall urge in this matter.

KARNEDDE.

Theſe are vaſt *Cumuli* or heaps of ſtones in many places extant in theſe as well as in other parts of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and perhaps in many other countries of Europe. I have conjectured them to be ſome remains of moſt ancient patriarchal practice, retained and put in uſe by our idolatrous anceſtors, as a particular mode of worſhip, exerciſed and chiefly celebrated at ſome great ſolemnities—principally of covenants and fœderal ſanctions, both public and private, and ſometimes of ordinary oblations and ſacrifice; to which opinion there are two things that give a favourable inducement.

First, The congruity of name, and the eaſy and natural reſolution of it into the language of thoſe patriarchs, that is, the Hebrew tongue, in which thoſe primitive rites and cuſtoms were at firſt inſtituted; † קרן-נד *Keren-Nedh*, i. e. a coped heap, being a Hebrew compound expreſſing the ſhape and figure of theſe *Karnedde*, will ſeem by Propoſition II. to have been impoſed by none but ſuch people as vernacularly uſed that language; and we cannot pretend to entitle the vernacular uſe of it to our own or any Weſtern nation ſince our departure from Babel. So that on this account it is not unreaſonable to conclude, that a moſt ancient practice, as the heaping of ſtones on ſome ſolemn occaſions certainly was, carrying with it a primitive name (as one part of the compoſition, namely, *Keren* undoubtedly is) and no other domeſtic etymology offering itſelf; it is, I ſay, on this account, not unreaſonable to conclude it to have been a primitive rite and cuſtom, con-

* Ogygia, p. 196.

† כנד i. e. *Canedh*, as a heap, Pſal. xxviii. 7. Vide Buxt. Lexic. p. 453. Schindler, Lexic. p. 1085.

veyed

veyed and put in uſe here by our firſt anceſtors; and in time brought to be a conſiderable appurtenance of their religious ſcheme and inſtitution. And as to the other part of this compound name, viz. *Nedh*, although it muſt be confeſſed, that the particle *edh* be a very uſual termination of many Britiſh words, and conſequently may be taken to be no other than ſuch in this; yet finding in this appellation that the two components of the name, viz. *Keren* and *Nedh*, naturally agree to expreſs *(in compoſito)* the one with the other, both the matter and figure of the thing ſignified; and obſerving alſo, that in South-Wales they call it not *Karnedd*, but *Karn*, where the termination *edd* is as frequently uſed as in any part of Wales, which we can ſcarce believe they would omit in this, if that ſound were no more than a grammatical termination; hence I conclude that this is a compoſition of two words, containing two diſtinct ideas relating to one and the ſame ſubject; tho' it is not improbable but that ſome dialects of our tongue might uſe only one of theſe words, curtailing the compoſition, and calling them *Karn* for *Karnedh*; as many words are known to have been abridged and ſhortned, and yet made uſe of to expreſs the full extent of their determined meaning.

SECONDLY, The ſimilitude and agreeableneſs of circumſtances, which are obſerved between theſe monuments and that of Jacob and Laban in the land of Haran, deſcribed by Moſes, Gen. xxxi. 46. give, as I obſerved before, a very favourable countenance to this conjecture. Now to go on with this inſtance a little further than I did then; the ſimilitude and reſemblance between our *Karnedd* and Jacob and Laban's heap (called by the one *Galeed*, by the other *Iegar Sahadutha)* not only in their make and erection, but alſo in their attendant pillars, are plain and undeniable; and alſo evident to any one, who by comparing that recorded paſſage with the circumſtances of our heaps and their pillars ſtanding by them, will obſerve their exact conformity and reſemblance.

This paſſage of Jacob and Laban ſeems in the whole ſcene of it, recited Gen. xxxi. 44—55. to have been ſo great and ſolemn a tranſaction, conſiſting of ſo many acts and ceremonies, of invocation; of ſwearing by the name of their fathers; eating of bread; watching, and particularly of ſacrifice, which was ever the higheſt and moſt eſſential act of their religion—that it ſeems very manifeſt, that it was no new thing, and at that time firſt made uſe of, and practiſed by thoſe two parties; but rather an ancient patriarchal uſage, always conſented and referred unto, and then by theſe perſons applied and practiſed. For

elſe what means the calling of theſe heaps by theſe two perſons by two ſeveral names importing one and the ſame thing, but that they knew them, and were uſed to call them ſo before in their different idioms? And indeed the main of the ceremonies thereon uſed, viz. calling upon God, ſwearing by the name of their fathers, and eſpecially ſacrifice, ſeem plainly to intimate that it was at that time no novel but an ancient inſtitution and practice: And being ſo, we as well as they, may be well ſuppoſed to have carried with us, even into theſe countries, ſome imitations of that primitive pattern, and be thought to have derived our cuſtom of heaping ſtones, as well as Jacob and Laban did theirs, from one and the ſame original, that is, the *Noachidum Statutis*, the patriarchal rubric.

Now the two different names of theſe heaps in regions ſo near adjoining, as Jacob's and Laban's were, come up ſeaſonably to anſwer an objection that may ſtart up here; namely, that if it be true that theſe *Karnedde* and that heap of Jacob and Laban did proceed from one origin, viz. the patriarchal practice, then how is it, they had not both retained the ſame name? But to this I ſay, this inſtance is a plain anſwer. For if the two next adjoining countries uſed two different names to expreſs one and the ſame thing of this heap, as we find they did, the one calling it *Galeed*, and the other *Iegar Sahadutha*, both names implying one and the ſame ſignification, viz. a heap of witneſſes; much more then is it allowable for the more remote and weſtern Celtæ, our anceſtors, to call it by a third name, which they had, it ſeems, retained of it, namely, *Keren-Nedh* or *Karnedd*; and which is as expreſſive of the quality of the thing ſignified as any other. And indeed by Propoſition V. it is the ſame thing in effect, among ſynonymous appellatives, to uſe this or that word to expreſs the thing thereby ſignified. For if *Gal*, *Iegar* and *Nedh* be ſynonyma or words equally importing one and the ſame thing in that primitive tongue, namely, a heap or *Cumulus*, as it is certain they are; then by Propoſition V. it is no matter which of the three was retained, the thing was thereby naturally and fully ſignified; the difference between our *Keren-Nedh* and their *Galeed* and *Iegar Sahadutha*, being only in point of circumſtance. We all expreſs the thing, but with the thing meant we expreſs the ſhape and figure of it, calling it *Karen-Nedh*, a coped heap; and they the uſe and practice, calling it *Galeed* and *Iegar Sahadutha*, i. e. a heap of witneſſes, becauſe of the fœderal uſe and deſignment of it. And therefore if theſe two parties, viz. Jacob and Laban, who differed in the name, but joined

joined and concurred in the performance of the action, took their different names to expreſs and betoken thoſe fœderal heaps; why then ſhould we who have a name of equal antiquity, and equally expreſſive in the primitive tongue of the quality of thoſe heaps; and who have alſo a plentiful number of thoſe heaps and their attendant pillars to this day to ſhew; I ſay, why ſhould we on ſuch concurring evidences ſcruple to allow our *Karnedde* and that of Jacob and Laban in Chaldea, to have been of one and the ſame extraction—namely, a derivative rite and cuſtom conveyed to us from the ancient patriarchal practice?

That theſe monuments or ſtony heaps are called *Kairns* or *Kerns*, without the addition of *Nedh*, in Scotland, Ireland, Cornwal, and Armorica, I will not deny. But yet whoever conſiders how much the ancient Britiſh tongue has been in thoſe countries altered and corrupted by the incroachment of and mixture with other languages, thereby perhaps occaſioning that curt pronouncing of the word; and alſo will remember that the North-Wales Welſh, which always calls it *Karnedd*, is the pureſt and leaſt tainted with foreign mixtures of all the Britiſh dialects, will not, I ſuppoſe, be far to ſeek for a reaſonable anſwer to this difficulty. It is well known to be very uſual for many words to loſe ſome part of their ſound—of which we have many inſtances—when a foreign language, tyrannically interpoſing, changes and mixes ſyllables, and by a variety of cuſtoms, humour or fancy alters idioms, and contracts and lengthens the variable tenor of accents and pronunciation.

One thing further deſerves our notice, as to theſe *Karnedde*, which is, that they appear to have been originally in their erection and figure very round and conical; which manifeſts that what additions of ſtones from time to time theſe *Karnedde* have had upon them, muſt have been on the very tops and ſummits of them, where the ſtones being ſucceſſively thrown, they muſt have fallen and tumbled down equally on every ſide, and ſo mechanically form the *Agger* or whole *Karnedd* into a ſomewhat depreſſed conical or parabolical figure, of which ſhape our *Karnedde* generally are.

Now what thoſe additions of ſtones on the very tops of them (for ſo the figure of the heaps ſhews they were) might mean, unleſs there was, as on that of Jacob and Laban, a ſacrifice performed there, I think is unaccountable; or at leaſt very hard to determine. And if we ſuppoſe them to be ſepulchral monuments, and the ſtones to have been thrown on the ſides of them at all adventures by paſſengers, then they would

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not have been round, as they are, but rather of an oblate irregular area; their ſides in one place boſſing out, and in another depreſſed and ſunk in, as ſuch an accumulation would neceſſarily produce. It is true, there have been bones found intermixed with the ſtones in ſome of theſe heaps, and urns and altars in others; which may prove ſome argument of their having been uſed for immolations and ſacrifices. But it is certain, the holy text intimates as much as if the apoſtatizing Jews (no doubt in imitation of the Heathens about them) uſed altars of this form. "They ſacrificed" (ſays the ſcripture) "bullocks in Gilgal, yea their altars are, גלים *Cagalim*, i. e. like to thoſe heaps we have in the furrows of the field," Hoſea xii. 11. Judea being a ſtony country, they gathered the ſtones into heaps, as we do, in the furrows of their ground. And then how near the figure of thoſe little heaps, to which the prophet reſembles ſome of their altars, comes to the ſhape and faſhion of our *Karnedd* I need not ſtand to urge.

Whatever the firſt inſtituted original uſes of theſe larger *Cumuli* were, it is more than probable to me, that they came at length to be uſed only for oblation and ſacrifice, and that of the worſt ſort of victims, viz. of rogues and profligates. *Qui ſunt in furto, aut latrocinio, aut aliquâ noxâ comprehenſi, gratiores Diis immortalibus eſſe arbitrantur*, i. e. ſays Cæſar, "Such as are the greateſt thieves, rogues and villains, are ever accounted the moſt acceptable ſacrifice to the immortal gods."

Now that ſuch nefarious criminals were ſacrificed on a *Karnedd*, and not on a *Cromlech*, where perhaps only the more innocent victims were offered, I take the vulgar practice among the Britons, Scots, and Iriſh, of heaping ſtones and raiſing little *Cumuli* on the graves of ſuch wretches (which they continue to do without knowing why, but that they found it the cuſtom of their elders) to be no inconſiderable argument of the probability of that conjecture. Neither can I here avoid inſtancing the known practice of the Jews, in putting to death their vileſt malefactors with ſtoning or throwing and heaping of ſtones upon them; commanded Deut. xvii. 5. and practiſed Joſhua vii. 26. Though that way of putting people to death for certain crimes be in theſe texts of Moſes firſt mentioned and put in writing; yet we have good grounds to preſume that it was the determined puniſhment of thoſe very crimes in the ages before; and *that* we have to ſuppoſe more particularly, becauſe of the moral end and purport of it, viz. the taking away of the evil from among them, as it is there expreſſed; and conſequently that removing and taking away of the evil being by an expreſs law to be performed

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and effected by every one's throwing his ſtone on the victim, in token of his execration of the fact committed, and for a general expiation of the guilt thereof, as it is particularly ſpecified in the law of Moſes, viz. "the hand," i. e. "the ſtone of every one ſhall be upon him," Deut. xvii. 7. On account therefore of this particular, it may not be at all improbable that other nations likewiſe did retain that practice; it being a ſymbolical expiation founded on a moral principle, and conſequently a dictate of natural religion, to remove the evil before any good can be expected; ſo thriftily did theſe prieſtly judges, our Druids, convert legal puniſhments into religious expiations and atonements.

However, this is certain, that the other day people having occaſion to take away ſome lime-ſtones from a *Karnedd*, which is in *Plâs Newydd* wood, formerly called *Llwyn Moel*, in Angleſey, they found near the top of it, on one ſide, about a yard deep in the ſtones, the bones of three perſons lying cloſe to one another, not at length in a ſtraight but oblique poſture, ſtraglingly with their heads downwards. They ſeemed to be the laſt that were ſlaughtered there, being ſo near the top of the *Karnedd*, and not unlikely at the Romans invaſion and conqueſt, when people here were driven to their greateſt expiations and ſacrifices. In ſhort, as theſe larger *Karnedde* may well ſeem to have been the remains of ſome ancient rite of worſhip, ſo there wants not ground to affirm the leſſer *Cumuli* to be meerly the tombs and ſepulchral monuments of ancient heroes.

MEINI GWYR.

Our vaſt columns and unwrought pillar-ſtones found erected here and there in ſeveral places as well of this as other countries, I have alſo conjectured to have been an appurtenance or relic of ſome inſtituted rite or cuſtom of mankind's firſt and moſt ancient religion. And on that ſuppoſal I have repreſented the primary uſes of theſe pillars good and laudable, as being (ſome of them) peculiar appurtenances of inſtituted religion. And others of them the moſt public and viſible records of things in thoſe firſt inaccurate times. Of theſe latter ſorts are the pillars of the ſons of Seth, which Joſephus mentions Antiq. Jud. Lib. 1. Cap. 3. Of the former are thoſe of Jacob in Bethel, Gen. xxviii. 18.

Now if this was the uſe of theſe rude unſhapely columns and pillar-ſtones, viz. to have been ſymbols of ſpecial conſecrations, and a ſort of temples in thoſe firſt ages of the world; it is no wonder that their uſe hath been retained and variouſly applied by almoſt all nations of people.

They were in ſome countries, when idolatry prevailed and religion grew more gay and pompous, improved and advanced from their original rudeneſs into curiouſly wrought and poliſhed columns of ſeveral names and orders; and at length into ſtately and magnificent temples. In other countries they were enormouſly raiſed into pyramids and obeliſks. And in ſome places alſo, particularly in theſe northern countries, and in ſome parts of Aſia, they retained for many ages their firſt natural form and coarſeneſs. All this happened as the nations who made uſe of them more or leſs indulged novelties and pompous appearances, or tenaciouſly adhered to more ancient and primitive eſtabliſhments, though ever ſo rude and barbarous.

We have little reaſon to doubt, that in the firſt ages of the world, the venerable names and memory of the moſt heroic worthies and benefactors of mankind were in many places continued to poſterity in thoſe unhewn columns and erected pillar-ſtones, * before the more polite arts of ſculpture and imagery had room to be entertained among the more curious ſort of men. Thus Jacob, a zealous preſerver of the patriarchal rituals, ſecured the name and memory of his beloved Rachel in an unpoliſhed pillar-ſtone erected on her ſepulchre, Gen. xxxv. 20. And Abſalom in the midſt of his days choſe ſuch another to preſerve and continue his name and renown to the generations that were to come, 2 Sam. xviii. 18. And ſuch was the monument of king David, hinted at Acts ii. 29. and mentioned by St. Jerom in his epiſtle to Marcella.

Theſe being the two moſt ancient uſes that we read of in hiſtory or any records of theſe erected pillar-ſtones, viz. either ſet up as local conſecrations or ſymbols of the *Schekinah* or divine preſence, as thoſe of Bethel were; or elſe of ſepulchral monuments and memorials of name and honour, as thoſe of Rachel and Abſalom were; we want not reaſon to conclude them to have been the effects of a primitive order and inſtitution. And therefore by Propoſition I. and IV. we may affirm, that theſe rude columns and huge erected pillar-ſtones, now ſtanding here and there in theſe countries, have been anciently, where many of them are together, local conſecrations and temples; and where diſperſedly and ſingly erected, memorials and ſepulchral monuments.

We find indeed that God himſelf ſometimes commanded the erection of ſuch pillar-ſtones, and that very conſiderable acts of religion and wor-

* *Antequam accuratè tenerentur Imaginum habitus, Veteres Columnas erigentes, eas colebant tanquam Statuas.* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. I.

ſhip by God's own appointing were celebrated at them; as particularly at Gilgal, where God commands Joſhua to take up twelve ſtones, a ſtone for every tribe, and to pitch them up for a memorial of their paſſage over Jordan; and theſe twelve ſtones (ſays the * text) which they took out of Jordan, did Joſhua pitch in Gilgal. And as we find that theſe erected pillar-ſtones and columns in the earlieſt ages of the world made up their *Proſeuchæ* or oratories; ſo thoſe places, being planted about and ſurrounded with groves of oak, compleated with them the notion of temples and ſanctuaries. This is very evident of thoſe ſanctuaries and pillar-temples in Syria and Paleſtine, which are commonly deſcribed in the holy ſcripture by groves and pillars, as I have before ſhewed.

It is as evident from the ſacred ſcriptures, that theſe pillar-erections, when the true religion began to fail, became the idolatrous objects of divine worſhip. And hence it is that we find God, even in the days of Moſes, giving ſtrict warning to the Jews, that they ſhould not adore thoſe pillar-ſtones, which it ſeems they were then wont to do. "Ye ſhall make you no idols," (ſaith God) "nor graven image," (which in the original is "*Even Maſchith*," i. e. "a ſtone of bowing," as I have before noted out of the Chaldee paraphraſt) "neither rear ye *Matzebah*," i. e. "a ſtanding pillar, to bow unto them, or worſhip them," (Levit. xxvi. 1.) And on the account of the idolatrous abuſe of theſe pillar-ſtones and of the groves about them, it may ſeem, it was, that God at laſt abſolutely forbade the uſe of them. "Thou ſhalt not plant a grove of any trees," (ſays God) "near unto the altar of thy God which thou ſhalt make thee, neither ſhalt thou ſet up a pillar which the Lord thy God hateth."

In all theſe places, the word *Matzebah*, a derivative of *Jatzah* to ſet up or erect, is to be taken for a rude uneffigiated erected pillar-ſtone —no other than juſt ſuch as our *Meini Gwyr* are—becauſe the propriety of the word, and the circumſtances of the texts mentioning them, demonſtrate them to have been of that ſort. And indeed, the better ſort of expoſitors take them to be ſuch, though our tranſlations, following the Seventy in that particular, generally render them *images*.

But that theſe rude unwrought pillar-ſtones ſhould be honoured with divine worſhip, is a thing very ſtrange to imagine; yet that they were ſo honoured and worſhipped in ancient times, is a truth paſt all diſ-

* Joſh. iv. 20.

pute. And their being worſhipped is ſome argument that they were originally ſepulchral monuments and erections, effected by depraved mankind, partly in imitation of the before-mentioned patriarchal practice, but moſt chiefly and generally out of an over-weening deſire of immortalizing the otherwiſe periſhing names and memory of men, by theſe viſible, more laſting monuments. And this will appear very accountable from the reaſons that may be given of the original of idol-worſhip, viz.

FIRST, The great and famous heroes and worthies of thoſe times dying and leaving their mighty name and renown recorded and tranſmitted to ſucceeding ages in theſe laſting monuments; admiring poſterity, out of exceſſive veneration to their tranſcendent worth and virtues, became very prone to reckon their departed ſouls among the gods, eſteeming them a middle ſort of divine powers, and calling them Δαίμονες or Δαιμόνια, viz. mediators or agents between the cœleſtial gods and mortal men.

SECONDLY, When men thus eſteemed the ſouls of thoſe deceaſed heroes as deities, and accounted them worthy of divine honours; they thought of no fitter place to afford them this adoration than at their ſepulchres and monuments: eſteeming thoſe places as certain fixed and peculiar reſidences and habitations of thoſe deities. And theſe monuments there erected (perhaps called by the names of the men departed, which by the way may ſomewhat account for our *Meini Gwyr*, i. e. our men-pillars) they accounted *Statuas animatas, ſenſu & ſpiritu plenas*, as Triſmegiſtus calls them; or Ἀγάλματα θείας πλησίας ἀναπλεα, as Jamblichus words it. i. e. "Idols filled with divine influence, and animated ſtatues furniſhed with ſomething within them that hath life and perception."

On theſe accounts I conceive theſe erected ſtatues and columns came at firſt to have been worſhipped, and to have had divine honours paid to them by the idolatrous Gentiles. And as the genius of the nation or people who erected them varied, ſo they, either avoiding novelty and innovations, as the Gauliſh Druids did, paid to them their adorations in their rude natural forms; or elſe as other nations who affected novelties did, they inſculped on them human ſhapes or other figures as they pleaſed to fancy, and adorned and flouriſhed them, raiſing over them magnificent ſtructures and temples.

And this indeed I find to have been the very notion which antiquity had of the original of idol-temples; and which the primitive fathers, taking

taking advantage of, uſed to upbraid the ſuperſtitious Gentiles with. *Specioſo quidem Nomine*, ſays Clem. Alex. in Protrept. *Templa dici, fuiſſe autem Sepulchra*, i. e. *Sepulchra ipſa vocata fuiſſe Templa.* And Arnobius contra. Gent. lib. 6. tells them to the like purpoſe, *Quid quod multa ex his Templa, quæ Tholis ſunt aureis & ſublimibus elata faſtigiis, Auctorum Conſcriptionibus comprobatur contegere cineres atque oſſa, & functorum eſſe corporum Sepulturas*, i. e. "They are called indeed temples, but they are only the graves of dead men; and it is evident by ancient writers that theſe auguſt temples, however adorned and venerated, are but the caſes and conſervatories of dead mens' bones and aſhes, over which, and for whoſe ſake, they were firſt erected."

And truly, as to our erected monuments and ſtone-pillars, the few inſcriptions that have been found upon them teſtify them to have been the burying-places of noted perſons; or at leaſt that ſuch whoſe names they bear have been buried near, or not far from them. And theſe were all of middle or latter times. But of very ancient inſcriptions, ſuch as may be preſumed to be from the times of Druidiſm, I think I may poſitively ſay, there are not any among us. Which if ſo, may ſerve for an argument that either that ancient ſect totally abſtained from the uſe of letters; or they took it to be an unpardonable crime to inſcribe them on holy things; or elſe they cloſely adhered to that ancient law, "Not to ſtrike a tool upon their ſacred things;" which, I think, was never obſerved to have been done. Thoſe monuments that now remain are exactly after the pattern commanded by Moſes, as you may ſee, Joſh. viii. 31. viz. "Monuments of whole ſtones, over which no man hath lifted up any iron;" being indeed of the rudeſt ſtones, whether they be ſtanding pillars, or erected altars or *Cromleche*. Neither can I ſee any reaſon but that the names and characters which many of theſe pillar-ſtones now ſhew upon them might have been hammered there many ages after their erection, as people took fancy to be interred near them. And the very little art that is generally to be obſerved in their way of cutting their letters, and the uſual diſproportionate largeneſs of thoſe letters they have, may be thought to cauſe them to write at length, ſometimes upwards, ſometimes downwards, on theſe ſtones in their erect and ſtanding poſture. I except always ſuch ſtones as are cut and modelled;—croſſes, beacons, and the like—which are known, in compariſon of the others, to be but of late erection.

Now that theſe ſtone-monuments already mentioned, whoſe remains are ſtill among us, made up a conſiderable part of our ancient conſecrations, and were indeed our *Proſeuchæ* and temples, the evidence of my fourth Propoſition may be good warrant to affirm. For when ſacred records aſſure us that one branch of mankind's national diviſions, in the re-peopling of the world, uſed ſuch open places for the exerciſe of their ſacred performances, namely, the ancient Hebrews; and when thoſe very records deſcribe and diſtinguiſh thoſe places to us by the ſolemn erections of heaps, pillars, and altars; and particularly aſſert that thoſe three famous ones of Miſpeh, Bethel and Gilgal were no other than ſtone-monuments; it is therefore but juſt to conclude, that other nations, particularly our own, uſed and practiſed alſo the like cuſtoms of forming and making up their places of worſhip with ſuch erections and monuments: And that in a more particular manner we may reaſonably infer, becauſe the former (I mean thoſe which are intimated to us in ſcripture) were effects of moſt ancient primitive order and inſtitution; and that of the latter there are ſo many remains, exactly paralleling the circumſtances of the other, to this day viſible in many places, as well of theſe countries as of all Europe, that we cannot chuſe but aſcribe them to one and the ſame origin and inſtitution.

Thus it ſeems to me that God in thoſe ancient times, before he determined his *Schekinah* and divine preſence to the Moſaick tabernacle and the Jewiſh temple, had his ſacred places in ſeveral parts of theſe countries, where devout men preſented themſelves before him. And ſeldom any of theſe occur in ſcripture, without the mention of ſome ſtones erected in ſuch places. And ſome places have their names and characters from thoſe very erections; as at Bethel, where we have a ſort of a conſecrating *Formula*; "And this ſtone (ſaith Jacob) which I have ſet up for a pillar, ſhall be God's Houſe; and he called the name of the place Bethel," i. e. God's Houſe, Gen. xxviii. 19. and where alſo we have ſome part of the ancient rites and ceremonies celebrated on thoſe ſtones ſet forth and typified to us in Jacob's action of pouring wine and oil on the ſtone-pillar at Bethel, Gen. xxv. 14. And I have heard of ſome ſtones, obſerved by the learned Mr. *Edward Lhwyd* of Oxford in ſome part of Wales, which had a little cavity a'top, and a groove or channel running down the ſide of them, as if thoſe ancient *Libamina* were alſo retained and made uſe of among our Britiſh anceſtors. And indeed we need not much wonder that devout men in the patriarchal age, and others in imitation of them, paid that veneration to, and placed

ſuch

ſuch ſacredneſs on, the religious uſe of theſe erections; when we conſider, beſides what other warrant theſe might have for it, that it is plain in the ſcriptures, that God continued to appear to men in no one form longer and oftner than in the "form of a * pillar," Exod. xiii. 21. 22. I forbear to bring the adorable humanity of Jeſus Chriſt into the compariſon, as an exception in this caſe, for it is above it; the body of Chriſt being hypoſtatically united to the Godhead, which the cloudy pillar was not, though the divine preſence for ſome time manifeſted itſelf in it. Such erections ſeem to have had ſome myſterious reaſon for them, now unknown, which induced the uſage of them.

Theſe moſt ancient pillar-temples, if I may ſo call them, and places of adoration, had alſo groves of oak generally planted about them; from which groves the very places of worſhip ſurrounded by them were ſometimes named and characterized. As † *Alloun Moreh*, ‡ *Alloun Matzab*, § *Alloun Baccuth*, i. e. The Grove of Moreh; The Grove of the Pillar; and, The Grove of Weeping. And hence I have conjectured our anceſtors alſo, retaining ſome part of that primitive ſound *Alloun*, to have called their ſacred places—always ſurrounded with theſe groves—*Llwyn* or *Llan*. And our Chriſtian churches have been generally built at or near thoſe ancient ſanctuaries, as appears by their having to this day (many of them) ſome remains and monuments of ancient worſhip ſtanding near them. And probably people's minds were ſooner drawn to make their firſt Chriſtian meetings at their anciently accuſtomed places of aſſembling. I ſay, our Chriſtian churches ſeem on this account to have taken their name *Llan* from that of *Llwyn*; with the addition of ſome Chriſtian name, that had been ſignalized in that place, inſtead of their former heatheniſh characters and terminations. And indeed by weighing this matter a little we may find, that although the words *Llan*, *Sanctus*, *Holy*, do now betoken *divine* and *ſacred*; yet it is ſure that the ideas repreſented by theſe words in ancient times intimated no more than ‖ *Encloſing*, ** *Eſtabliſhing*, and †† *Planting*—all theſe being notions relating to theſe ſuperannuated groves; as *Yd-lan*, *Corphlan*, *Perllan*, *Gwinllan*, and in Iriſh, *Druizlan* for a *ſanctuary*, explain the firſt; and the common notion of *Sancio* to this day is to *confirm* and *eſtabliſh*; and *holy*, in the old Saxon ¶ ſeems to betoken originally no more than *holt*

* Gen. xii. 6. † Judg. ix. 6. ‡ Gen. xxxv. 8.

§ *Significat autem Columna, Dei non poſſe effingi imaginem* Clem. Alex. Strom. lib. 1.

‖ *Llwyn-Llan*, ** *Sancio*, Sanctus, †† *Holt*, Holy.

¶ It is remarkable, that *Hearx* in the Saxon is a name or word that expreſſes both grove and temple. See Dr. Hicks, Gram. Anglo Sax. p. 5.

or

or *grove*—until every one of theſe words in courſe of time came to be metaphorically uſed to expreſs not the *nature* of the things formerly meant by ſuch words, but the *action* therein performed, which was *divine* and *ſacred*, as they are now taken.

LASTLY, The congruity of the uſe and application of our ancient ſacred places with that of the Jewiſh Proſeuchæ and ſanctuaries, is no mean argument of their being both derived from one pattern, viz. the moſt ancient patriarchal practice. Thoſe ſet places in Judea and Syria, we are warrantably aſſured, were their great *Forums*, i. e. their places of judicature, as well as their *Fanums*, i. e. places of religion and worſhip. For we read, that all Iſrael were often called to convene at Miſpeh: And in like manner at Bethel and Gilgal they had frequent conventions*. Nay, we read that Samuel went from year to year in circuit to Bethel and Gilgal and Miſpeh, and judged Iſrael in all thoſe places, 1 Sam. vii. 16. How agreeably therefore is this with what Julius Cæſar affirms of our Druidical temple in Gallia? *Ii certo Anni tempore conſidunt in loco conſecrato; huc omnes undique qui controverſias habent, conveniunt; eorumque judiciis decretiſque parent*, i. e. "They meet together, viz. the Druidiſh prieſts, in a certain conſecrated place, every year, and judge all the people."

Theſe places in Jewry, though when the temple was built they loſt that prerogative, yet we are told were continued by the Jews as peculiar places of prayers and public aſſemblies, on occaſion, even to the time of our Bleſſed Saviour. And how exactly ſome of them reſembled our mentioned cirque or theatre at *Bryngwyn*, I leave it to any one to judge, who will but conſider and compare what I have ſaid of that with the deſcription which † Epiphanius, who was born and lived in thoſe countries, gives in his tract againſt the Meſſalian heretics, of one of thoſe ſacred places. *Eſt & Sicimis quæ hodie Neapolis dicitur, Proſeuchæ locus, extra urbem, Theatro ſimilis, ſecundo ab urbe lapide poſitus, quem ita aperto cœlo & areâ ſubdiali extruxerunt Samaritæ, Judæorum in omnibus imitatores.*: "We have at Sichem an ancient Proſeucha in the open air, raiſed up like a cirque or theatre by the Samaritans, in imitation of the Jews." Now whether this be any remains of the ancient ſanctuary at Sichem, mentioned Joſhua xxiv. 26. I leave to be conſidered.

* Videſis Medum in Joſh. xxvi. † Epiph. tom. 2. lib. 3. Cap. 80.

Objection II.

The Second Objection is, That the proofs which are offered for the Druids' chief reſidence and metropolitical preſiding in the Iſle of Mona, eſpecially ſuch as are drawn from the monuments and remains of Druidiſm there, are not abſolutely concluſive with regard to that place; ſince other places of the Britiſh territories, by that argument, are more juſtly intitled to it: And alſo that it does not hiſtorically appear, that theſe men did preſide and govern in the affairs of religion over the whole iſle of Great-Britain, as aſſerted.

This is an objection which the particulars I aſſerted are liable to; and therefore to remove the force and charge of it I ſhall be obliged, as in the laſt, to eſtabliſh a few preliminary propoſitions, by the ſtrength and evidence of which I ſhall be better able to ſet things in their true light, and more eaſily and intelligibly unfold the grounds and reaſons of what was aſſerted in theſe particulars. And therefore I premiſe that,

Proposition VI.

It is an allowed maxim in hiſtory, that general characters and intimations of actions or perſons are ſometimes pregnant and productive of equipollent ſpecifical determinations. Thus Platina ſaying that the pope, and Suetonius affirming that an emperor made at times the chiefeſt figure in Rome, is juſt the ſame as if theſe authors had expreſly ſaid that Rome was once the emperor's, and once the pope's city.

Proposition VII.

In concatenated and neceſſarily depending actions, ſuch are the ſchemes of religious polities and the like, that the poſition of ſome eſſential particulars in a place or ſociety of people neceſſarily infers the exiſtence of the whole. Thus ſome particular neceſſary epiſcopal actions in ſome cities in the apoſtles time and immediately after, are good evidences of epiſcopacy's being planted there at thoſe times.

Proposition VIII.

That the evidence of tradition, where there is no ſuſpicion of fraud or foul play in the firſt ſetting on, is always very conſiderable: And when it is backed with unexceptionable records and authorities, it is ſtill the greater. But when confirmed alſo with the concurrent teſtimonies of ancient names and monuments, it is the greateſt of moral certainties. Thus when tradition tells us, that ſuch a town in Britain or Gallia

was

was a legionary ſtation, we give it ſome credit; when good authors atteſt the ſame, we believe it; and when coins and altars and other remains of antiquity confirm the ſame, we then have undeniable certainty and aſſurance of it.

Proposition IX.

That among the ſeparate and different ſtates and conditions of people in every polity, ſuch as the governors and the governed, it is not always a true and juſt conſequence, when the qualities, eſpecially the moral and intellectual ones, of the one party are inferred and concluded from thoſe of the other. For it is evident that the groſs ſtupidity and barbarouſneſs of ſome nations and ſocieties of people are owing principally to the ſkill, craft, and more extraordinary ſubtilty and knowledge of their guides and governors; their ends and intereſts in thoſe matters being founded on quite different bottoms.

Proposition X.

That the principal and moſt important characters in the reports of conſiderable actions are ſtrictly to be obſerved, and therefore juſtly to be expected, in good hiſtorians; and where thoſe characters are wanting in ſuch authors, the negation and abſence of ſuch particulars, in ſuch places, where they ſhould have been mentioned, is as juſtly concluded. Thus the hiſtorians of Europe at this day, not mentioning a word of the Turks or of their religion in any of our Chriſtian ſtates and kingdoms, but in thoſe of Turky and their other conqueſts, will be one day a very good argument, that thoſe Turks really were not, where they were not mentioned; and that their reſidence was where their appearance was mentioned to be, that is, only in the Turkiſh dominions.

Theſe being axioms of allowable credit in the affairs of hiſtory, we may the more firmly depend on their light and authority, and apply their evidence as occaſions offer to clear ſome difficulties that will occur in this point of hiſtory we are now upon. Which tho' I confeſs it to be of no great moment whether they reſided here or no; yet as it adds ſomething to the character of the place I am accounting for—and that as trivial matters as itſelf have been warmly conteſted, when the truth of hiſtory comes to be concerned in it—eſpecially ſince the greateſt Roman authors have not diſdained to enlarge on the ſubject—ſo I take it no unbecoming endeavour to make good the reaſonableneſs of the conjectures I have advanced upon the before-mentioned authorities,

ties, in relation to this matter, by all the fair ways I can: Which, as a reply to ſuch as may incline to inſiſt on the ſtreſs of this objection, I ſhall attempt to do, by ſuggeſting in defence of the opinion theſe following conſiderations.

FIRST, Let it be conſidered, that by *reſidence* and *metropolitical* in this aſſertion, is meant no more than that the grand ſociety and whole order of theſe Druids, i. e. their phyſiologers, prieſts, and lawyers had their firſt admiſſions, were initiated and proſecuted their ſtudies, underwent their functions, and made the chiefeſt part of their abode and living in this particular place; not that it ſhould be conceived that there was a metropolis here which had a ſtanding authority and juriſdiction over the other parts of Britain. It is only meant, that whereſoever the whole order of this religious ſect reſided, *there* was ſupreme authority in matters relating to religion and diſcipline; that authority reſulting from function and office, by way of perſonal prerogative, and not of local privilege and pre-eminence. Of this plain deſcription of Druidical authority, the character given them by antiquity is a full juſtification. So alſo that their reſidence was a ſort of conventual aſſociation or abiding together in one place, is diſcoverable from the quality of their learning and diſcipline, which was all communicated by *oral tradition*, i. e. by word of mouth from one perſon to another; for they ever abſtained both in their teaching and learning from the uſe of books and letters. This way of diſcipline, atteſted to our hands by good authorities, neceſſarily required, and as neceſſarily concludes their living and aſſociating together for the moſt part in one place, by Propoſition VI.

SECONDLY, I offer it to be conſidered, that if the Druidical hierarchy was metropolitical in Gallia, as by Propoſition VI. if we believe Cæſar who plainly affirms it *(his præeſt Unus)* we cannot at all deny; then it will follow, that when theſe unexceptionable authors, viz. Cæſar and Tacitus affirm the ſame religion and the ſame diſcipline as were in Gallia to have been in Britain alſo, from whence at firſt they had them; it follows, I ſay, that that hierarchy in Britain was alſo metropolitical, and that the affairs of Druidiſm, in the full extent of it, were directed here, as well as there, by one ſupreme head and governor. And it will alſo appear by Propoſition VII. that what is concluſive of Gallia from what Cæſar affirms of the head Druid and his conſecrated ſeat or ſtation there,—*Carnutum Regio*—the ſame is applicable in Britain to ſuch place or perſons as ſeem moſt juſtly entitled to the ſame qualification and character; identity of rules and diſcipline ever ſuppoſing a con-

formity of rites and ceremonies in places remote and diſtant. And therefore it is but juſt to conclude, if the people in the many cities of Gallia, and the ſeveral governments thereof, reſorted to that one place, as Cæſar aſſures us they did, and there ſubmitted to the Druids' decrees and judgments; that the people in the ſeveral ſtates and principalities of Britain alſo might do the like: nay it is next to evident that they did ſo. For Cæſar expreſly ſays, as I intimated before, that the Gauliſh diſcipline came from Britain; which is an argument of no ſmall weight, that what was done in Gallia in obſervance of that diſcipline was more accurately and ſtrictly performed by the different intereſts and governments within the iſle of Britain; and conſequently that their diſcipline was here metropolitical in the ſenſe I have explained it.

THIRDLY, It is to be conſidered alſo, that ſince Cæſar, giving a character of the Druidiſh diſcipline in Gallia, plainly intimates that the ſame ſort of diſcipline obtained in Britain; and ſince Cornelius Tacitus, ſome time after Cæſar, does as plainly affirm that the Britons uſed the ſame religious rites and ſuperſtitions as the Gauls did; we have thence good warrant to conclude, that as in Gallia ſo in Britain (for to ſuppoſe one over Gallia and Britain is, on many reaſons that I need not mention, moſt improbable) they had one head Druid—*Qui ſummam inter eos habuit auctoritatem*—as Cæſar accounts of their chief one in Gallia, "who had ſupreme authority among them;" and one place—*Ubi certo Anni tempore conſidebant in Loco conſecrato*—as Cæſar delivers it, where at a certain ſeaſon of the year the Druidiſh prieſts came from all the cities and places, where they had their diſperſed ſtations and employments, and attended their chief and primate in his ſupreme conſiſtory—*Ubi omnes undique qui Controverſias habuêre, convenerunt, eorumque Judiciis Decretiſque paruerunt*—viz. "where all perſons from all parts of the country, who had any ſuits or conteſts in law, made their appearance, and were finally determined by their decrees and judgments;" *Et ubi magnus Adoleſcentûm Numerus Diſciplinæ cauſâ concurrebat, & eorum nonnulli Annos vicenos in Diſciplinâ permanſerunt*—"And where great numbers of youths reſorted to be trained up in the Druidiſh learning, continuing their colloquial ſtudies ſometimes twenty years together in that place;" while many of them, no doubt, were diſpatched abroad to the ſeveral provinces and cities to officiate in the affairs of religion and judicature. All this we muſt preſume to be true of the iſle of Great-Britain as well as of Gallia, elſe we fall unavoidably into this dilemma; that is, either we muſt deny the plain teſtimonies

of

of both Cæſar and Tacitus, againſt the ſixth Propoſition, the former aſſerting the whole diſcipline of the Gauliſh Druids to have come from Britain, and therefore proves it to be there; and the latter as plainly ſaying, that it was there, by his ſaying that the Britons rites and ceremonies of religion were the ſame with thoſe of the Gauls; or elſe we muſt allow but one head Druid over Gallia and Britain, making of both but one hierarchy, and conſequently that the Britons were obliged from all parts to reſort to the middle of Gallia for redreſs of juſtice, againſt all probability. And though it be true that ſome of the Gauliſh Druids did come over ſeas to Britain for more exact knowledge in the Druidical diſcipline; yet that rather proves, that the whole diſcipline, viz. ſupreme authority, inferior orders, and a fixed ſeat and reſidence was in Britain itſelf, independent of any other place; and therefore having all that at home, they can be ſuppoſed to lie under no engagements to have recourſe to ſuch remote and foreign juriſdictions.

FOURTHLY, I offer it alſo to be conſidered, that ſince it is now ſomewhat apparent that Great-Britain hath had its own academy of Druids, and that ſome of the Gauls in Cæſar's time frequented it, as a place of more regular diſcipline than that they had at home, whether there may not be ſome evidences, or (what will amount to ſuch, collected from tradition) ſpecial circumſtances of fact, names of places, agreeableneſs of ſituation, and peculiar monuments and remains of antiquity, which may bid fair to point out the very *place* to us, though no authentic records do poſitively affirm it. And if that be granted, whether alſo the proofs I have offered for the Iſle of Angleſey, which were agreeableneſs of ſeat, tradition, ſpecial circumſtances of fact, and ancient betokening names and monuments, may not deſerve ſome weight to be allowed them, till either better proofs are produced for another place, or it be made appear to be utterly impoſſible to aſſign any that may afford a reaſonable ſatisfaction. And therefore I ſhall now, under this conſideration, beg leave a little further to enlarge on the particulars following.

FIRST, Agreeableneſs of SEAT and Commodiouſneſs of SITUATION.

AS to what hath been ſaid in the former Eſſay of the agreeableneſs of ſeat and fitneſs of habitation for theſe Druids in the Iſle of Mona, above any other place of the Britiſh territories, it was only made uſe of there in reference to their choice of ſuch a place for ſettling

their then new-formed inſtitution and eſtabliſhment. Yet it may not be unuſefully aſſumed too, as an argument *à priori*, viz. that on thoſe mentioned advantages they did actually chuſe ſuch a place for their abode and cohabitation; ſince by that way of arguing, which is not to be neglected when it falls in with other evidences, we can have this to ſay, that what before and above other places ſeems moſt likely to have determined their choice to fix and ſettle in it their principal ſeat and reſidence, may be well preſumed to have done ſo. And beſides, upon a full view and conſideration of thoſe advantages we may farther urge, how convenient, nay, how neceſſary it was for thoſe ſocieties of people, who were to give ſtrict unbiaſſed judgments in all countries, to have a place ſeparate and removed from all, and dependent on none, as this iſland was. And when we obſerve that few or no other places in all Britain were ſo agreeably and advantageouſly ſituated for all thoſe ends and purpoſes, as I have endeavoured to make appear this Iſle of Mona to have been, we ſhall perhaps be on thoſe grounds alone, were there nothing elſe to be urged in the matter, not very unwilling to allow the determined ſeat and reſidence of theſe ancient Druids to have been in no other place of Britain, but in the Iſle of Angleſey and its dependent territories, including the Iſle of Man and other adjacent iſlands.

SECONDLY, TRADITION.

I Need not ſay much to eſtabliſh the validity of traditional evidences. They are ever accounted of prevailing weight, when the tradition carries with it theſe marks, viz. is grounded on notorious and well-known matter of fact; and when its conveyance down is free from all ſuſpicion of fraud and falſhood; and laſtly, uninterrupted. And in this caſe the tradition I urge may be obſerved to carry with it all theſe notes. For, with reſpect to the Firſt, viz. notoriety of fact, what can be more notable and memorable than what religion and ſolemnity imprint on the minds of men? And ſuch, no doubt, was the notion of this iſland's being the chief ſeat and ſeminary of this religious fraternity. Secondly, There could be no fraud or falſity in the handing down of this relation, becauſe owned by all the neighbouring countries to be true; who if that relation had not brought its aſſurance and credibility with it in all ages would be inclinable enough (we may be ſure) to oppoſe and gainſay, and in caſe it added to the place any repute and value, to detract and invidiate. And, Thirdly, An interruption in the

conveyance of that account or tradition cannot be alledged; becauſe it was conveyed down and continued to us, in the ſucceſſive generations of one and the ſame people, from that time to this day.

Now if all aſſertory traditions are but continued affirmations of ſome formerly well-known, evident, and notorious matter of fact, and conſequently if the continuation of this tradition of the Iſle of Mona's being the prime ſeat of the Druids, be not, or was not ſo much as ſuſpected to have been, unſincere and corrupted, there can appear, I think, no reaſonable grounds to reject or deny what is aſſerted by it. We cannot but expect that an eminent overture and tranſaction of a place, ſuch as being the prime ſeat and reſidence of ſo noted a ſociety of men as that of theſe religious Druids at that time certainly was, muſt have been talked of and remembered for many ages after the diſſolution of their ſociety. And though the intermediate times and perſons through which this tradition made its conveyance to our hands, were confeſſedly very groſs and barbarouſly ignorant, and alſo productive of monſtrous fictions; yet this matter handed down by them, being very brief and important, and having alſo crept perhaps into the vulgar character of the place, (for it is probable enough that antiquity meant more by that ſaying—*Môn Mam Gymru*—than is uſually taken) they cannot be ſuppoſed to have quite forgotten it.

But ſince they forgot it not, neither in Scotland nor amongſt us, as I have made appear in that part of the proof I have before offered; and in Scotland they pretend to ancient annals, at leaſt to ungainſayed tradition for it; why then ſhould we ſcruple to yield ſome credit to antiquity in what is very plain and intelligible, and wherein there appears no aſſignable cauſe or reaſon that tradition ſhould impoſe upon and deceive us in the accounts of this particular? Indeed, fame is ſometimes very profuſe in her rodomontades, and laviſh in her fictions as to things and places; namely, when intereſt, humour, or ſome vulgar vanities warp and ſophiſticate her informations. But when a general conſent, ſeconded by circumſtantial evidences and probabilities of the thing, uſhers the report, we muſt ſurely be very ſceptical to miſtruſt her accounts and reject her informations.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY, Authorities and Special Circumstances of Fact.

WE are indeed wholly deſtitute of any expreſs poſitive evidence from any authentic writer to confirm this conjecture about the Iſle of Angleſey's being the chief ſeat and academy of the Britiſh Druids. Yet by Propoſition VI. from ſome ſpecial circumſtances of fact, obſerved in Cornelius Tacitus's relation of the conqueſt of the Iſle of Mona, we may be enabled to draw ſome conſequences, which duly weighed may give ſtrength to that conjecture, at leaſt in concurrence with other arguments.

Although it be true, that Tacitus was never himſelf in Britain to be an eye-witneſs of the Roman actions performed here; yet we may well preſume he had his information from thoſe that had been, who could give him as complete and punctual accounts of the moſt material and conſiderable turns of action, as if he had been himſelf upon the place. And we have no room to doubt the characters he gives of places, things, and perſons, where he touches on them, but that they are the juſt, complete, and well-proportioned images of thoſe truths of fact, which the keeneſt eye-witneſſing judgments of eminent friends, in their ſeveral poſts, had carefully obſerved and repreſented to him: And therefore we may, I think, not unjuſtly conclude by Propoſition X. theſe two conſequences from that author.

First, Since this exact author mentions not in any part of Britain ſo much as the name of a Druid, but only in the Iſle of Mona; that it is highly probable there was no appearance of ſuch a remarkable place of Druidical reſidence to be taken notice of in any of the conquered provinces of Britain, but what he obſerved and characterized of this place.

Secondly, When he mentions in this Iſle of Mona ſuch amazing appearances of this ſort of men, ſo many parts and appurtenances of their worſhip—ſuch a deal of their ceremonies and incantations—ſuch ſpectacles of horrid ſacrifices—ſuch rites of aruſpicy and divination—all theſe being confeſſed particulars of their religion and worſhip, and ſetting forth the whole action rather as a grand religious ceremony than a battle; I ſay, all this being conſidered, it is by Propoſition VI. and VII. an intimation equivalent to his expreſly ſaying in other terms, that the Iſle of Mona was the capital ſeat or head-quarters of theſe religious Druids.

For

For it is all one to expreſs a thing by an enumeration of its parts in a ſeparate disjunctive order, as by putting up the parts into one idea, and ſo call the things by one general word importing the whole; both which ways are naturally expreſſive of the thing intended. And here indeed we have this other reaſon to add to the confirmation of this particular; namely, if Corn. Tacitus did not by that paſſage of his intend to give us an intimation of this iſland's being ſuch a place, we muſt either conceive, that the Druids and their chief ſeat and reſidence made no conſiderable figure in his eye, and ſo the mention of them might be well omitted; or if they did, we muſt think that he kept not up to the laws of hiſtory, to omit their character upon the mention of any circumſtance relating to them. But neither of theſe can be preſumed to be true; that author being by approved conſent allowed to have been an exact accompliſhed hiſtorian. And indeed theſe Druids, where they were really found to reſide in any conſiderable numbers, were ſoon taken notice of, and had a very ſuitable becoming character given them by him in his way of writing; who if they had been found, as they were in the Iſle of Mona, in any other places of Britain, we may preſume would have met in him with a mention ſuitable to their appearance in ſuch places.

But ſince we find no ſuch character, no mention of ſuch a place, or of what may be preſumed to have been ſuch, by this author in any part of Britain but only in the Iſle of Mona; and ſince there too he is not ſhort, conſidering his ſtyle, in the deſcription of their perſons, array and carriage, of their ceremonies and imprecations, of their groves, altars, and inhuman ſacrifices and barbarities; and is indeed wanting in nothing but in telling us in downright terms that it was the Druids' chief ſeat and reſidence, at leaſt at that time; I ſay, conſidering all this, I could do no leſs than conclude this iſland to have been that place of reſidence; eſpecially ſince in many parts of it not a few ancient names and monuments and other circumſtances may afford ſufficient grounds to any who are unprejudiced to reſt in that concluſion.

And if it be yet further objected, that though it be granted that this Iſle of Mona was then found full of Druids, and it be true that the chief conduct of affairs lay then in their hands; yet it does not follow that it was always their chief manſion and peculiar place of reſidence: for being an iſland and place of retreat and ſafety, theſe prieſtly Druids may be ſuppoſed to fly into it from the reach of the Roman ſtorm, and endeavour to take ſhelter in it to avoid death and ſlavery. To this it

may

may be replied, that it is very unlikely they ſhould be *here* only on that account. For if only fear and regard of ſafety made this ſuperſtitious herd at that time flock to this iſland, it betrays a greater ignorance in that ſort of men than can be well ſuppoſed they could be guilty of, viz. to fly for ſhelter and refuge to an untenable place *, where they might be ſure to be catched as in a pound on the firſt attack of the enemy; whereas they had much better have kept themſelves in the mountains, or fly to the North of Scotland or Ireland, where they might be very ſafe and out of danger.

But above all, the conſideration of the many ancient names and monuments of Druidiſm to this day extant in many places of this iſland, will make it appear that they had a more fixed abode and a longer eſtabliſhment of their ſociety and order in this country, than what will conſiſt with but a bare appearance of them *here* for their defence and ſafeguard, and that in a tranſient flight and hurry. And if it be farther urged, that thoſe names and monuments, granting them to have been Druidical, may yet be ſuppoſed to have been the effects of a very ſhort ſtay of theſe men in this iſland; though we ſhould allow that ſome of theſe pillar-ſtones, heaps and altars might be raiſed in a very ſhort time, it is not yet to be imagined to what end men in that caſe and circumſtance ſhould of a ſudden erect ſuch and ſo many of them. And though it be poſſible they might ſo erect them to ſome ends now unknown; yet it deſerves to be conſidered, that thoſe ſacred groves which the hiſtorian particularly mentions could not be ſet up all of a ſudden, but muſt be at that time of long and ancient ſtanding. And if we reflect on the ancient uſage of erecting altars firſt, and then of planting groves about them, of which cuſtom we have particular intimation, Deut. xvi. 21. where God himſelf ſays, "Thou ſhalt not plant a grove of any trees near" (or about) "the altar"—ſhewing thereby that the primitive uſage of the Heathens was firſt to build altars, and after to plant groves about them; and our practice here being before ſhewed to be a tranſcript of one of thoſe heatheniſh cuſtoms; we may then very well conclude, that our altars, pillars, and other erections, were as ancient as, if not before our groves; and conſequently were no effects of ſo ſhort a ſtay, but muſt be of more remote continuance in this iſland; that is, (if the largeneſs of ſome of their *Karnedde* may afford us any gueſs, by the gradual encreaſe and heaping of them yearly) they might be extant *here* a long time, perhaps many ages before the Roman conqueſt.

* See p. 59, where he aſſigns the ſafety of this iſland, as a reaſon why the Druids choſe to fix here.

FOURTHLY,

FOURTHLY, Ancient NAMES and MONUMENTS.

IT is already intimated that theſe religious heathens had groves and altars for their ſacrifices and other appurtenances of their religion in this Iſle of Mona; and that theſe muſt have been here long before the Romans conquered the iſland. Yet I am far from concluding the reſidence of theſe men in this place from the evidence of theſe monuments only, and excluſive of tradition, circumſtances of fact, and other probabilities already produced. But yet even ſingly and from that evidence alone, I think, I may appeal to any who will judge impartially of the matter, if our monuments in this iſland, and together with them the particular apartments and places of abode of theſe Druids, by their names to this day extant betokening the diſtinct orders, offices, peculiar works and employments of that ſect, do not bid fairer for ſuch a claim of primacy and ſuperiority of ſeat and reſidence in this iſland, than in any other place of the Britiſh territories, where ſome of the like monuments are, though much larger than ours, yet altogether deſtitute of ſuch ancient betokening names and characters, or indeed of any the leaſt marks and evidences of Druidiſm, except only their bare ſite and poſition. For indeed, magnitude and immenſity of ſtructure, which many of them in other countries have, cannot be allowed to be ſo good arguments, as the Druidical names and characters are, of this particular.

It muſt be confeſſed, that there are ſome of theſe monuments in Scotland and in the iſles adjoining, which by the traditional account of people, as Hector Boetius affirms, are ſaid to have been the ancient temples of their gods; ſome of which are larger than thoſe I have deſcribed in the Iſle of Angleſey. And I find that the ſame has been atteſted by Dr. Gordon, a learned antiquary of that kingdom now living, who avers that there is an ancient tradition among the people, that theſe circular erected monuments belonged of old to the *Drownich*, as they call them, whom he interprets the Druids. And ſince the firſt writing of this Eſſay, I find another author, viz. Mr. Martin, in his Hiſtory of the Weſtern Iſles of Scotland, confirming the ſame by expreſs and particular inſtances. So alſo in many * places of England and Wales there

* It is not improbable but that the Head-Druid, with his collegues, did hold general aſſizes or courts of equity in theſe places in the ſeveral provinces, for the conveniency of peoples' reſorting unto them, and that in time of peace they frequently made their circuits in theſe places to judge the people.

are ſome very ſtupendous ſtone-monuments, and many of leſſer ſize, to be taken notice of, which for bulk and ſome ſort of regularity ſeem to ſurpaſs thoſe of the Iſle of Angleſey: Some of them conſiſting of a great number of erected pillar-ſtones with incumbent croſs ones; in a triplicate, duplicate, or ſingle order; ſome of them with *Kiſt-Faen*; ſome with *Cromleche* in the center of their area; and ſome with mounts made of earth and ſtones near them; and ſome alſo with rampiers and entrenchments about them; all of them generally—when many of theſe ſtones are ranged together—of a circular or elliptical figure in their plots and area. The diſcovery and accounts of many of which we owe to the indefatigable diligence of the late Mr. *John Aubrey*; and we are in expectation from the learned labours of our exquiſite antiquary, Mr. *Edward Lhwyd* of Oxford *, of a more accurate account of our Britiſh antiquities, in reference to local and etymological obſervations, than has been yet publiſhed.

Now theſe mentioned monuments, though much more auguſt and ſpecious, many of them, than any we find in the place I account for; and though granted to be Druidiſh, yet in themſelves, without other concurrent evidences, are no concluding arguments againſt another place's being the chief ſeat and reſidence of this ancient order; no more than are ſome more ſplendid and magnificent churches at this time (if I may uſe the compariſon) againſt another's being ſupreme and metropolitical, which is far leſs elegant and ſtately, as many ſuch are known to be. The vaſt inartificial grandeur of many of theſe laſt mentioned monuments argue rather the power and riches, the pomp and magnificence of ſuch people and countries, who went to the expence of raiſing thoſe prodigious erections, than any ſuperiority of juriſdiction in ſuch places.

We find not in any of theſe places, where the mentioned Mr. *Aubrey* and the learned Mr. *Edward Lhwyd* have diſcovered to us many, and thoſe undoubted monuments of Druidiſm, any names, tradition, or anywiſe atteſted circumſtances of fact, at or relating to any of thoſe monuments; nor any of them bearing the leaſt reſemblance of ſuch a name, except † *Stenton-Drew*, that ſhould induce us to believe them to have had that prerogative of ſeat and reſidence, as we find in the Iſle of Angleſey.

It is true, that in the Iſle of Angleſey, where three main parts of the evidence we have in this particular (i. e. advantage of ſite, tradi-

* This eſſay was writ before Mr. *Lhwyd* died. † *Stone-Town-Drew.*

tion,

tion and recorded circumſtances of fact) offer themſelves above any other place in the Britiſh territories, there are not now to be ſeen any monuments of that inſane ſtructure and magnitude, as Mr. Camden very fitly terms it, as *Stone-Henge*, *Roll-rich* and *Awbury*, and ſome other erections ſeen in other countries; yet moſt certain it is, that there are in it a greater number of thoſe monuments of all ſorts, than can be ſhewed in any one place of thrice its dimenſions in all the Iſle of Britain. Many of which I have deſcribed and accounted for; and they ſeem to bid as fair as any for that primacy of ſeat and reſidence, except only in the wildneſs and immenſity of their make and ſtructure; the people of thoſe ages (it ſeems) affecting above all things a ſtupendous vaſtneſs, together with a natural inconcinnity and rudeneſs in the compilement of their ſacred erections.

But in the Iſle of Angleſey, beſides the appearance of greater plenty of Druidiſh monuments, ſuch as I have endeavoured to prove our *Cromleche*, *Karnedde*, and *Meini Gwyr* to have been; I have ſhewed likewiſe no leſs than four townſhips, viz. *Tre'r Dryw*, *Tre'r Beirdd*, *Bod-owyr*, and *Bod-drudau*, to bear in their ſound and ſignification evident tokens of that ancient religious order. And all theſe four places or townſhips, ſituate and lying together upon one ſlang of ground in the moſt amœne and delightful part of the country; and having more alſo of theſe monuments to this day viſible within the verge, or on the confines of them, than ſome whole countries can ſhew; therefore by Propoſition X. I take it to be plain, that the deſignation made of this place by ſo many concurring evidences—the like not to be found in any other country—may very well amount to an hiſtorical demonſtration that the ancient Druids' ſupreme and principal reſidence, which Gæſar, Tacitus, and the very nature of their diſcipline avouch they had in ſome one place, was in the Iſle of Angleſey, at leaſt for ſome conſiderable time before the Roman conqueſt.

And as to the names of theſe townſhips; if it be objected, that they do not clearly diſcover and denote any ſpecial characters of Druidiſm, becauſe the etymology of ſome of thoſe names may proceed and be accounted for from ſome other more late cauſes; I ſhall then in reply offer it to be conſidered, that if it appears, that the reaſons and grounds of the compoſition of theſe names of places and townſhips now mentioned be, with the moſt manifeſt probability and congruity of circumſtances, to be deduced from ſome ſpecial notes and characters of Druidiſm, ſometime peculiar to that place; that then it will alſo appear to be no

good reaſoning to oppoſe to thoſe manifeſt probabilities an only bare poſſibility of their being accountable for on other grounds—eſpecially if it be conſidered withal, that we are not likely to meet with any ſuch grounds or cauſes, natural or accidental, that may ſo conveniently lay claim to the propriety of all four, as that of Druidiſm fairly does. For though ſingly ſome of theſe names may perhaps be liable to be urged beyond a bare poſſibility upon other etymons, as that *this* or *that* may be the reaſon of their being ſo called; yet in conjunction the one with the other, when the one may be taken to explain the other, and when the agreement and congruity of their circumſtances reſolve themſelves on a Druidical baſis, it is therefore a manifeſt probability that theſe townſhips got their names meerly on that account.

Here let us take along with us what has been already hinted out of Tacitus, namely, that the Druids in the Iſle of Mona had groves and altars conſecrated of old, and dedicated to the inhuman barbarities of their religion; and out of Strabo and others, that the profeſſors of that religion were claſſed and diſtinguiſhed into *three* diſtinct orders, viz. of *Druids*, *Ovates* or *Evates*, and *Bards*; or rather into three ſeveral functions or offices performed by perſons particularly titled by ſuch names; and that the Druidical order was alſo divided into two parties, one whereof was the ſupreme head or chief Druid, and the other the inferior ſubordinate Druids; which are all four diſtinct orders and titles.

Now as there is in that mentioned place of the iſland a particular precinct bearing the particular reſpective names of all theſe orders, viz. *Tre'r Dryw*, of the head-Druid; *Bod-drudau*, of the inferior ones; *Bod-owyr*, of the *Ovates*; and *Tre'r Beirdd*, of the *Bards*; and as theſe four orders or titles made up their whole hierarchy; ſo thoſe four precincts denominated from theſe orders, and ſituated together, miniſter no ſmall probability of theſe orders cohabitation and chief reſidence in that place or territory.

Of Tre'r Dryw *and* Bod-drudau.

IT is not to be doubted, but that the names uſed by Greek and Latin authors to expreſs theſe religious perſons, were taken up from Gauliſh and Britiſh ſounds, ſuch as they heard them call themſelves by; and being ſo taken up, were pronounced and written by thoſe authors, a little varied and inflected into their own idioms of Greek and Latin terminations. For ſo we find them expreſſing plurally, *Druid-æ*, *Druid-es*, Δρυιδ-αι, the

the *æ-es-αι*, being their terminative additions; and the ſound they took them from was moſt likely *Druwydd*; and that being in all probability of a plural ſignification, implying many; and *-ydd* being the plural of many Britiſh words, as *Nentydd, Corſydd, Coedydd*; it ſeems therefore that the Britiſh ſingular of that name was *Druw* or *Dryw*, the unvaried appellative of one perſon of them; as *Tre'r Dryw, Maen y Dryw, Stenton Drew* in Somerſetſhire, *Llyſſieu'r Dryw*, and the little *Regulus* or wren, called *Dryw*, the conſtant inhabitant of groves and buſhes, and probably emblematical of them, do ſeem to confirm and prove that the head-Druid—*propter excellentiam*—was called *Dryw*, and ſo his chief villa or manſion muſt be called *Tre'r Dryw*, as was before intimated.

Now *Druw* or *Dryw* being the word expreſſing one ſingle *Drywid*, or rather the head one, Καθ' ἐξοχήν, it is probable (the Gauliſh and Britiſh tongue conſiſting of variety of idioms and dialects) that the plural of it was variouſly terminated in various places, as they had ſeveral modes of expreſſing and terminating one and the ſame word; and therefore *--ydd, --aû, --on* being uſual terminations of the Britiſh tongue in the plural number, they might in ſome places pronounce the word plurally *Druwydd*, in other places *Drudau*, in ſome *Drudion* or *Drudon*, and in others *Derwyddon*; by which diverſity of conſtruction of the ſame word, in diverſe places, whereof we have many examples in many words to this day, it might very well come to paſs, that the foremention-ed townſhip called *Bod-drudau*, and the other place called *Cerrig y Drudion* in Denbighſhire, do each of them really bear the name of theſe Druids, but in ſomewhat different terminations. And therefore we may not accept of that argument which ſome are willing to urge, namely, that the examples which Dr. Davies produced out of ſome manuſcripts of their being called *Derwyddon*, muſt infer that they were called only ſo and no otherwiſe; and conſequently, becauſe he found them only called ſo in two or three late Britiſh manuſcripts, though in his Botanology he allows them to be called * *Drudon*, the other terminations of the word muſt be quite excluded, and the names ſo terminating, tho' approving themſelves by good circumſtances to be Druidical, muſt be diſcarded from the notion and left to ſeek for other etymologies.

Again, if *Druw* or *Dryw* was the true Britiſh or Gauliſh ſound or word expreſſing a ſingle Druid, we are yet to ſeek from what moſt likely etymons that word was originally compounded. It is generally

* *Llyſſieu'r Drudon.*

ſaid,

ſaid, that it was derived from *Derw*; and if ſo, probably the word might be *Derw-ryw*, corruptly *D'ryw—quaſi Genus hominum Quernam Religionem vel ſub Quercubus colentûm*—i. e. "A ſociety of men celebrating the Oak;" or perhaps I ſhould not be much out, if I offered the etymology of it from *Dîr-ryw*, i. e. *Genus hominum maximè neceſſarium*; "A ſociety of men moſt uſeful and neceſſary." Theſe laſt being two Britiſh radicals very ancient, and as likely as any (notwithſtanding the common ſentiments which are not always infallible) to give compoſition to this venerable name. But whether from *Derw-ryw*, or *Dîr-ryw*, or perhaps from ſome other etymons not yet thought on, this word is undoubtedly compoſed, I will not preſume to ſay; neither is it very material of which it is; for they both bid fairly towards it. But this I will add and preſume to offer towards the ſolution of this particular, that if ancient names and things, and the original reaſons of them may be unravelled by certain remaining prints and footſteps of them in the ſcheme of language; we may then obſerve many words in our Britiſh tongue, and thoſe very ancient too, and which are particularly referrible to Druidiſm, that have *Dîr* for the firſt and principal part of their compoſition, and not ſo eaſy to be accounted for on any other foundation; as,

Dirnad.] i. e. *Dîr-ynad*, To judge
Dirmygu.] *Dîr-mygu*, To ſtand out or contemn. To deſpiſe.
Dirprwyo.] *Dîr-prwyo*, To ſubſtitute or ſupply one's place.
Dirper.] *Dîr-per*, To merit or deſerve.
Drogan.] *Dîr-ogan* or *D'rogan*, To foretel and divine.
Dirdra.] *Dîr-dra* or *Dîr-draha*, The greateſt oppreſſion.
Dirchafu.] *Dîr-uchafu* or *Dirchafu*, To mount aloft or aſcend.
Dirgelu.] *Dîr-gelu*, To conceal or keep ſecret.
Dirweſtu.] *Dîr-weſtu*, To faſt, or be abſtemious.
Dirwyo.] *Dîr-wyo*, To puniſh or amerce.
Dirfawr.] *Dîr-fawr*, Very great and excellent.

Which are all words very ancient, and all betokening ſome peculiar quality and propriety of things and actions properly relating to that ſect, and being built on the ſame etymological foundation with the ſuppoſed *Dîr-ryw*, may ſeem in ſome meaſure to pretend to and conciliate that and no other to be the true etymology of it; which yet conſidering the uncertainties of etymological niceties, can lay no ſuch pretence to it, as to deſerve a contending for.

Of

Of the Bardi *and* Ovates, *and of the townſhips of* Tre'r Beirdd *and* Bod-owyr.

THE townſhip called by the name of *Tre'r Beirdd*, i. e. *Habitaculum Bardorum*, the ſeat and habitation of the *Bards* (where there are three or four *Cromleche* to be yet ſeen, but caſt down and demoliſhed many ages ago) I have taken in conſort with the other townſhips to bear unconteſtedly the name of that ſociety or order of Bards, as they were then called: And to aſcribe it to the later poets called ſometimes by that name, who never lived together in any formed ſociety, there appears no warrant of antiquity for it.

But a townſhip called by the collective name of the whole ſociety, as this is, imports no leſs than that a conventual ſeat or habitation of that ſociety was once there, where that name was left. Now the later *Beirdd* or *Prydyddion*, though diſtinguiſhed into certain claſſes or orders (ſhadowing perhaps ſomething of their ancient inſtitutions) as *Priſ-feirdd*, *Poſt-feirdd* and *Arwydd-feirdd*, and the like; yet having the whole conduct and management of their ſkill and employments particularly governed and directed by the laws of the *Talaith* or province they belonged to, and never living together in one ſociety, but diſperſedly here and there, as they happened to be gifted with that talent, they cannot therefore be ſuppoſed to denominate this precinct. And then it may ſeem that the name of this place muſt be referred to ſome other more ancient ſect and order, who did live together in a conventual collegiate body; and this place bearing their name, as aſſociated together in one community, muſt be concluded to have had an undoubted relation to that order or ſociety.

But of the townſhip of *Bod-owyr*, wherein are alſo many remains of Druidical monuments, it is not, I confeſs, at this time ſo intelligibly to be accounted for, as the other three; the name of that order to which I have preſumed to refer it being now quite loſt and forgotten in our language. Yet we may well conceive, as before obſerved, that the forementioned authors, deſcribing the tripartite order of theſe Druids, took the names of thoſe orders from Gauliſh or Britiſh ſounds or words expreſſing thoſe orders in that language. And thence it will ſeem that the Gauliſh and Britiſh names of thoſe orders were in ſubſtance the ſame with what the Greek and Roman authors in their Syntax expreſſed of them.

And

And therefore it is not unreaſonable to conclude, that as their *Bardi* and *Druidæ* undeniably expreſſed our *Beirdd* and *Drywydd*, ſo likewiſe their *Ovates*, mentioned by Strabo and Ammianus Marcellinus, muſt by the ſame conſequence expreſs ſome name belonging at that time to one of their orders, ſounding like *Owydd* or *Offydd* (*-ydd* being ſometime a ſingular maſculine termination, as *Gwehydd, Diſinydd, Philoſophydd*) which ſignified their prieſts and phyſiologers, as thoſe authors relate. But what will moſt rationally confirm this conjecture is the agreeableneſs of the compoſition of the word with the nature of the thing: *Off* or *Offer* moſt plainly denoting *res Sacras*—ſacred and holy things; as *Offrymmu, Offeren, Offeiriad, Dûofryd*, i. e. *Du-offrodd—Deo ſacra donatio*—do evidently teſtify. And *Eydd* or *Yddion* being equipollent with *-wyr*, they might be *Offeydd, Offyddion* or *Offwyr* in the plural termination; and conſequently *Offwr* or *Offydd*, in propriety of ſpeaking, is no more than *Perſona Sacra* or *Sacerdos* with the Latins, which is the very ſame with what Strabo explains of one of their orders, which he calls Ουάτεις, prieſts and phyſiologers.

On this account, obſerving that *Offwyr*, the ſame with *Offeydd* in the Britiſh plural, not only in ſound, but in ſignification alſo, exactly anſwers the word Ουάτεις, which that author expreſly tells us was the name of one of their orders; and finding, even in thoſe townſhips which ſo evidently bear the names and characters of the other two orders, one place or precinct called *Bodowyr* or *Bodoffwyr*, I could do no leſs than take it, in comportion with the reſt, to have been an apartment of that order called Ουάτεις, i. e. prieſts and phyſiologers.

It may be here objected, that *Offrymmu, Offeren, Offeiriad*, &c. are words which the Romans left, not found here among us, derived from *Ob* and *Fero*, two Latin radicals; and that *Ovates* being a name which the Britons had before the Romans had any thing to do in theſe countries, that therefore the now Britiſh words *Offrymmu, Offeren, Offeiriad* can be of no uſe to prove *Off* and *Offer* to betoken *res Sacras*—ſacred things; nor conſequently to give *Ovates* and *Offwyr* an etymology on the foundation I have now intimated. To this I anſwer, that although ſimilitude of ſounds does not always prove that words of the ſame ſignification and ſound, in different languages, are the products and derivatives of one another; yet all I urge in this caſe is that *Off* and *Offer* are moſt ancient Britiſh or Gauliſh ſounds, and do carry with them the notion of ſacred things. Whether they be derived from *Offero*, or *Offero* from them, it matters not; ſince both of them ſurely (as

all words relating to religion) are moſt ancient ſounds. And *Offrail* a ſacrifice, and *Juraim* or *Iffraim* to *offer* in Iriſh, where the Latin *Offero* could have no great influence (the Romans having never conquered that country) is a confirmation of it. And it is well known that the ancient Gauliſh or Celtic tongue was ſpoke in Liguria, Lombardy, and other parts of Italy, as is obſerved by P. Diaconus, Servius and others; and conſequently might well communicate with the Auſonian and Hetruſcan tongues, out of which the *Latian* or Latin was moſtly compoſed.

And on this account we may rather ſuppoſe that many Latin words which agree with the Gauliſh or Britiſh, as *Terra, Tîr; Aurum, Aur; Mare, Môr; Ignis, Engyl; Avon, Amnis; Aer, Awyr; Vitrum, Gwydr; Fons, Ffynnon; Mori, Marw; Murus, Mur; Tribus, Tref*; and many more, were words borrowed from the ancient Celtæ, our anceſtors. And hence it is not unlikely that the Latin *Offero* might likewiſe be derived from our *Off, Offer, Offrail, Offrymmu*; or at leaſt, that thoſe firſt people, though differing in language, might agree together in the ſound of ſome very obvious and important words, as we ſee now that Temple, Altar, Catholic Faith, and other principal words of religion, have their ſounds, without much variation, common in almoſt all the tongues of Europe. And we may add to this, that the Latin *Offero* reſolving itſelf to *Ob* and *Fero*, will not much relieve the objection; becauſe it is well known that the letter *b*, of which *Ob* is made, had in ancient times, in many words, a much ſofter pronunciation than it now generally obtains. And it is as well known that the grammatical reduction of the Latin tongue into exact rules of art and politure (which probably firſt ſtarted the compoſition of *Offero* from *Ob* and *Fero*) was not very ancient; no elder than about the middle time of the Roman conſular empire, as Quintilian obſerves—lib. 1. c. 5.—who tells us, that before thoſe times the Latin tongue was very barbarous and rude in its expreſſion, having in it many words of other languages, but eſpecially (ſaith he) *plurima Gallica*, very many Gaulic words. So that on the whole matter we have room enough to conclude, that the Latin *Offero*, and the Gauliſh and Britiſh *Off* or *Offer* were both of them very ancient words, however derived; and might very probably give the name of *Offwyr* to that order of Druids, which Strabo mentions by the name of *Ovates*; and whence the preſent words, *Offrwm, Offrymmu, Offeiriad* might proceed; and conſequently entitle this peculiar place or precinct by the name of *Bod-Offwyr* or *Bod-Owyr*, as it is called to this day.

Now having traced the names and characters of this religious ſect and order of men ſo far as they fall under the conſideration of my preſent ſubject, I will here ſtop a while and take a view of their whole hierarchy and diſcipline, from the hints and minutes we have delivered to us by Cæſar and others of their management and conduct. We cannot ſuppoſe, as is hinted in the laſt words of the ſecond Objection, tho' the civil policy in Britain was cantoned and parcelled into many petty ſtates and governments, that the Druidical hierarchy was in like manner dwindled into little diſtributions and independent conſiſtories; that is, that every ſtate and people had their peculiar ſet of Druids within their own ſeparate territories to manage the affairs of equity and religion. For it will appear on a due conſideration of the matter ſuppoſed, that ſuch a diſtribution totally overthrows the very nature of their diſcipline already deſcribed, and contradicts the very ſcheme which Cæſar, who beſt knew them, gives of their inſtitution and management in Gallia; where the civil rule and government was as much divided into different intereſts and principalities, as it was in Britain. And yet he poſitively affirms, that that diſcipline (he means their rule and adminiſtration) was in its higheſt exactneſs and accuracy learned in Britain; and conſequently, as I ſaid before, proves it to be here then in its greateſt uniformity and perfection. *Et nunc qui diligentiùs eam rem* (meaning their diſcipline) *cognoſcere volunt, plerumque illuc* (meaning Britain) *diſcendi cauſâ proficiſcuntur.* So that their diſcipline in Gallia, which Cæſar proves was learned in Britain, being rigidly *architectonical* under one ſovereign Head or Chief, and their inferior orders from all parts ſolemnly convening in one place, as a ſeparate and diſtinct body of men, before this Head, whoſe authority extended over all their little ſtates and regalities in Gallia; we have then very good reaſon, as I before ſhewed, to conclude the ſame of them in Britain: For that in Gallia was but what was learned *here.* And their hierarchy and ſcheme of government being of that dependent ſubordinate kind, as all deſcribe it, we have no grounds left to imagine that it was divided in Britain into as many conſiſtories or particular religions as there were ſeparate ſtates and governments in it. And if that * place of Tacitus, where Caractacus's men—*Gentili Religione ſeſe obſtringebant*—i. e. ſwore and bound themſelves by vows after the religion of their countries, be urged for a diverſity of religion in ſeveral countries; I anſwer, it can

* Annal. lib. 12. cap. 8.

prove

prove no more than that they might have, in the different provinces of Britain, different uſages and rites of objuration and ſolemn vowing. It being uſual, as Cæſar tells us, *Qui prœliis periculiſque verſantur, aut pro victimis homines immolabant, aut ſe immolaturos vovent*, viz. to make thoſe ſolemn vows to keep them warm and ſteady in wars and dangers.

Nay further, that this ancient order of men was a diſtinct ſociety by themſelves, ſcarce at any time mingling with the reſt of the people, but when called to their tribunals and altars, is ſomewhat plain out of Cæſar; for in time of war and public diſtractions they were all gone —*Druides à bello abeſſe conſueverunt*—ſays he; and where could they ſo readily withdraw themſelves as to their own *Palladium* or place of habitation? Hence probably it was that the Romans ſaw them not, until they beat up their quarters in this Iſle of Mona; and then indeed a very frantic army of them (ſo Tacitus deſcribes them) appeared and preſented themſelves before them.

And when theſe men of religion ſojourned and lay abroad diſperſed among the laity, performing their peculiar offices and functions, they were not, in any province they came into, either concerned in any warlike affairs, or ſubject to any government ſave their own. *Neque tributa cum reliquis pendunt, militiæ Vacationem, omniumque rerum habent immunitatem*, ſays Cæſar of them: By which it appears, Firſt, That their adminiſtration of religion and equity among the people, was only in time of repoſe and public tranquility; which may be one reaſon why Roman authors make ſo ſlender mention of them, or of their appearance in any public action. And, Secondly, Though they did actually reſide in times of peace and ſafety on their ſeveral diſtricts throughout the nation where they were employed; yet they being, as we find, no ſubjects of the ſeveral petty governments wherein they ſojourned and acted, but being free and at liberty in all things —*omnium rerum habentes immunitatem*—they might retreat and withdraw to their common ſanctuary or place of refuge and ſafety when they would. And the great power and reſpect they had with the people in all countries, may be conceived to have been a ſufficient ſafe conduct to them either in coming from all places of the land to this their head-quarters or habitation; or in repairing, when ſummoned, to their great and ſolemn conventions and aſſemblies, which they frequently did: And which alſo ſerves to ſhew, that the many and different ſtates and governments in the nation were no impediment to their reſort to that one place; and conſequently can be no juſt exception againſt

their having had ſomewhere one principal ſeat and habitation to reſort unto, when called and ſummoned to make their appearance in it.

Objection III.

The third Objection is, that theſe Druids cannot juſtly be entitled to ſo eminent and extraordinary knowledge and learning as is uſually attributed to them, ſince the Britiſh nation in general, before the Romans invaded us, laboured under very great barbariſm and ignorance; which cannot well be preſumed they would have done, if they had ſuch men of ſkill and knowledge, as theſe Druids are commonly reputed to have been, for their guides and inſtructors.

The main of this objection is to abate of the *moral* and *intellectual* qualifications, which are uſually, and by ſome of the beſt lights of antiquity, attributed to this Druidical ſect. But any one taking a view of the grounds on which the objection is founded will eaſily perceive, that it is built on a very fallacious ſcheme of reaſoning; there being no neceſſary connexion between the compared and adjuſted parts of it. For it is not to be ſuppoſed, by Propoſition IX. that a polite and well qualified magiſtracy makes always a knowing and civil populace and vulgar. It may be very often the intereſt of ſuperiors to depreſs and darken the intellectuals, to corrupt and deprave the morals of the common people, in order to diſpoſe and model their minds, and to mould and figure their paſſions, to what form and poſture they pleaſe; which probably was in ſome meaſure the caſe of the vulgar Britons under the conduct and management of theſe cunning Druids. And therefore it is not unlikely to be true, that theſe Druids might well be ſuch men as I have repreſented them, although the Britiſh vulgar were immerſed, which is yet far from being proved, in the groſſeſt barbariſm and ignorance.

For ſome mitigation of this charge it is yet farther to be conſidered; that as to morals, the decorum and plauſibleneſs of the addreſs and conduct of people have by manifeſt experience been found, in all times and places, to vary and to depend in a great meaſure upon humour and fancy. And what was eſteemed barbariſm in one age or place, may have been reckoned civility and decency in another. For in moral actions we are to reckon much on ends and cauſes peculiar to certain times and places. And then indeed we have ſomething to apologize for many actions, wherein our anceſtors, the Britons, by our preſent eſtimate of things as now conſidered, ſeem to have been

very rude and barbarous, which probably were not ſo accounted in thoſe days.

The inſtances that are produced of the Britons' barbarity and ignorance are of ſeveral ſorts; no one of which is yet liable to take away the reputation and merit, as to ſkill and knowledge, of their guides and inſtructors; nor indeed of their own, further than what unavoidable neceſſity and the then circumſtances of affairs put them on the practice of.

Many of the inland people, ſaith Cæſar, ſpeaking of the Britons, ſow no corn, but live on milk and fleſh. I anſwer, perhaps the great woods in ſome countries, and rocks and mountains in others, forced them to it. And we may well think ſo, becauſe we are aſſured by Cæſar, Tacitus, and Pliny, that they had in many places of the land good ſtore of corn, bread and ale.

There are ſome things falſly charged on them—as that they knew not the uſe of cloaths, as Herodian affirms; and that they lived only on prey and hunting, and dwelt in tents, naked and without ſhoes, as Dio reports of them. All which cannot be underſtood of them but with reſtriction to ſome particular places and circumſtances. For Cæſar poſitively affirms of them, that they wore ſkins of beaſts; which probably explains what Tacitus meant by *veſte ferali*, in the Expedition of Angleſey. Nay, Diodorus Siculus takes upon him to deſcribe certain garments of theirs called *Brachæ*, *Brych-wiſc* perhaps; ſuch as the party-coloured trowſes which the Scotch Highlanders are known to wear to this day, or the *Braccan* of the Iriſh. Strabo and Martial mention other Britiſh habits; but Pliny ſeems to put the matter out of doubt, ſaying, that the Britons at ſome ſacrifices uſed to go naked; which plainly intimates, that at other times they went not ſo.

And if their great woods at that time made the air warmer; and if the frequent wars and depredations, hindering the breeding of ſheep and cultivating of hemp and flax, neceſſitated the people to put on lighter cloathing; it was no effect of choice, and therefore no token of voluntary barbariſm in them, ſuch as might have been amended by more ſkilful inſtructors, but rather the fate and miſery of the times which put them on ſuch groſs unſeemly cuſtoms. It is not indeed unlikely but that men in the firſt ages of the world went very thinly clad, if not many of them naked; and that the cuſtom of wearing cloaths grew, as people grew more polite and civil; others continuing to this day to retain their ancient ſimplicity and nakedneſs, and that too in ſome places

places under as cold climates as our own is. Which is an argument, that if people in the first ages of the world had gone warmly cloathed as they now do, whole nations would scarce be induced to throw off that custom of wearing cloaths and go all naked. And therefore it is probable the ruder nations generally went half naked, till they came to be more civilized and enured to a more decent course of life.

But here with us, if in some places men went naked, as the author mentioned says they did; it is not unlikely but that the paint and varnish which they are said to have used on their bodies—*vitro corpora infecti*, as Pomponius Mela has it—might and did so constringe their pores, and so glaze and harden their external cutis, that the injuries of air and weather did not much affect them. And as for the scarifying of their bodies into the exact resemblances of birds and beasts, which something favours that opinion, as Solinus represents them; all that may be no more than a warlike flourish, or a sort of heroic bravery in them; for to expose their effigiated breasts and arms in that naked manner, when fighting with their enemies, savours more of art and accuracy, than of any barbarousness and stupidity in those resolute warlike people.

But for the unclean and unnatural cohabitation, and the mixing together of parents with their children, and of nearest relations one with another, as Cæsar, who surely should have a true account of them, tells us they frequently did: It looks indeed like a heavy charge, and may pass for the grossest instance of barbarity they could be taxed with, if they were guilty of it. But it is probable it was a character given them by their enemies, who from the smallness of their houses (being little huts without partitions or apartments, as Strabo, Diodorus Siculus, and the very remains of them to this day, testify) concluded perhaps, as we often do of the Wild Irish, that they lay together there without distinction of age, sex, or kindred; which probably was but a mistake and the like misrepresentation of them. For the old British houses were little round cabins—*Cronglwyd*—of small capacity, as the * ruins of them still shew; yet they were generally in clusters, three or four of them together, which it seems served them for rooms and separate lodgments. And sometimes many were included together, within the compass of one square or court; which, I suppose, were their more fashionable houses.

* Now called *Cyttie'r Gwyddelod.*

If

If this be not the reaſon of that account given of them, it is, I confeſs, too difficult to excuſe thoſe profeſt moraliſts under whoſe cognizance and ſuperintendance they were; unleſs we may give ourſelves room to think that natural conſcience, and what we now call humanity, was defective in their guides and inſtructors in that one particular; or at leaſt that their religion, too much intoxicated by the ſpirit of deluſion and warped by politic ends, relaxed and indulged to them that beaſtiality. However it was, it is no proof of the general ignorance and barbarity of their guides and teachers, if they apprehended nature too favourably in that one thing; and therefore might politicly overlook that turpitude, and take it no crime to allow or lay no reſtraints on the unbridled luſts and appetites of the impure and heady vulgar, provided they paid them due ſubmiſſion and obedience, in what they commanded to be done and obſerved by them in other particulars. But as it is not likely the fact was true; ſo there is little need to uſe any endeavours to obviate the inferences that may be drawn from it.

There needs no more to be added; it is ſufficient to evince that theſe Druids might be men of general morality and knowledge after the mode of that time, though the vulgar crew were deeply tainted with groſs ſtupidity and ignorance; which is yet far from being proved by the inſtances produced, eſpecially of their laity in general; who by what appears of their actions and behaviour to the Romans, and alſo by what we have of their ſayings, addreſs and conduct, regiſtered in authors of account and credit, ſeem to have been men of good ſentiments, moderation and temper; and not meanly acquainted with the principles of humanity and nature; all which we muſt ſuppoſe they imbibed from their Druidical education.

If any ſcruple this, let thoſe admirable ſpeeches of Galgacus and Caractacus, and thoſe pathetic debates and dying reſolutions of our famous * Boadicea, recorded by Tacitus, be undeniable ſpecimens and laſting marks

* When Tacitus had given an account of the conqueſt of the Iſle of Mona, by Suetonius Paulinus, he ſays, that that general was ſuddenly recalled from finiſhing his enterprize, to repel the violent attacks and hoſtilities of our famous Boadicea, who had raiſed a very numerous army in the Southern Province againſt the Roman garriſons, which ſhe had almoſt totally deſtroyed: He thus relates the words of that illuſtrious heroine. Tacit. Annal. Lib. XIV.

" Boadicea, ſays Tacitus, having placed her daughters in her chariot before her, as ſhe came to " addreſs herſelf to every ſeveral nation in the army, declared, that ſhe came there, not as a lady " deſcended from ſo noble progenitors, to make a kingdom or riches the matter of the diſpute, " but as one of the common people, to avenge their loſs of liberty in general, and in particular, " the monſtrous villanies perpetrated in her family, and the vile uſages done to her own perſon, " having had her body whipped and ſcourged by them, and her daughters' chaſtities barbarouſly violated.

marks of ſenſe, honour, and accompliſhed nobleneſs of thought and temper, eminently conſpicuous in theſe Britiſh diſtreſſed ſouls; and arguments alſo of the like qualifications, in others of their more faſhionable laity, whoſe characters the haſtening pen of our hiſtorian had no time to tranſmit to poſterity, as he had done, perhaps no leſs truly than elegantly of theſe noble and memorable perſonages.

It is worth while to repeat here that gallant ſpeech of GALGACUS, the Caledonian; in which we ſee how the Britiſh genius was furniſhed with clear and ſprightly notions of humanity, and well informed in the juſt rules of nature and intereſt. For the ſpeaking and delivering that pathetic ſpeech to the whole multitude, in that ſtrain, and with that admirable turn of thought and expreſſion, ſuppoſes *them* in general to whom he ſpake, to have been of a well taught and regulated capacity both to apprehend and to be moved by it; from which indeed we may take much truer and ſurer eſtimates of the knowledge and accompliſhments of their guides and teachers, than from a few inſtanced immoralities and groſs uſages of the more inferior ſordid vulgar.

The SPEECH of GALGACUS*.

WHEN I conſider the cauſe of this war, ſays Galgacus to his reſolute army, and our preſent neceſſity, I have great reaſon to preſume that this day, with this unanimous reſolution of yours, will give a happy beginning to the freedom of the whole iſland. We have lived thus long in the full enjoyment of our liberty: and now there is no country beyond us, nor indeed ſea, to ſecure us, while the Roman

" violated. [*She added,*] The outrages of the Romans were grown ſo enormous, that the bodies " of none among the poor Britons, of what quality ſoever, were exempted from the ſcourge and " the whip, and their luſt ſo impetuous and extravagant, that neither the aged nor the young " could eſcape their pollutions; yet as ſome comfort to us [*ſays that magnanimous lady*] the gods " ſeem to be for us, and to favour our juſt revenge; for the legion that durſt come and hazard " a battle, was cut in pieces by us, and the reſt, what do they do, but ſculk in their camp, or " ſeek means to eſcape us by flight; ſo that they will never be able to abide the great clamour on " the firſt onſet of our men, and the rattling of our troops and chariots, much leſs the power and " force of our fighting, when we come to cloſe with them: If therefore [*ſaid ſhe*] they would " weigh with her the number and power of her forces, and withal the motives of the war on her " ſide, reſolve they ſhould, either to vanquiſh or to die, in that battle: For the men [*ſaid ſhe*] " then, if the day be loſt, may live, if they like it, and can eſcape, and ſupport that life, with " the bitter fruits of thraldom and ſlavery; for her own part, her firm reſolution was, to die that " day, or be victorious."

The day was loſt, and ſhe ended her life by poiſon, and with her fell eighty thouſand Britons in that battle.

* Tacit. in Vita Iulii Agricolæ.

navy

Boadicea Queen of the Iceni.

navy can thus hover on our coaſts; ſo that arms and fighting, as honour will recommend to men of valour, ſo will ſelf-preſervation to the worſt and moſt cowardly of us.

The battles heretofore which with various ſucceſs have been fought againſt the Romans, have always relied on our bravery, and expected a turn from it: For * we are the very flower of the Britons, and therefore ſeated in them oſt inward part of the country, out of the ſight of other nations enſlaved by the enemy: So that our eyes are yet unpolluted and free from the contagion of foreign tyranny. There is no country further on this ſide of it, nor liberty on that: This corner which hath preſerved us, hath hitherto been unknown to fame; now the remoteſt part of Britain lies open to them, and people think every thing great and magnificent that is ſtrange and unknown. Beyond us there is no country, nothing but waves and rocks: The land inward is all under the Roman vaſſalage already: It is in vain to curry favour with them by addreſs or ſubmiſſion: Their pride and haughtineſs is not to be thus laid, who ranſack the univerſe, and when they have plundered all lands, and want more, they ſet ſail and rummage the ocean, to find more.

Where the enemy is rich, there the prize is wealth; where poor, it is ambition: Neither the Eaſt nor the Weſt have ſufficed them: Theſe and only theſe covet and gape after the wealth and poverty of the whole world, with equal appetite and pleaſure. Spoil, murder and pillage paſs with them under the name of government; and where they make ſolitude, there they think they have made peace. Children and relations are dear to every one, yet they preſs them: They bereave us of them, to make them ſlaves in foreign countries. Our wives and ſiſters, if they eſcape raviſhing in a violent hoſtile manner, yet under the name of gueſts and friendſhip they are certainly debauched by them. Our goods and fortunes become theirs by the name of tribute, and our corn, by that of proviſion. Our bodies and hands are put by them to the drudgeries of paving bogs and woods, with a thouſand ſtripes and indignities to boot.

Thoſe who are naturally born ſlaves, are but once ſold, and then maintained at the owners coſts. But the iſle of Britain daily purchaſes, daily feeds and maintains its own bondage, at its own charge: And as in a private family, the laſt comer is always the moſt ſcouted at by his fellow-ſervants; ſo in this old bondage of the world, we who ſhall

* By this it appears that Scotland was then inhabited by Britons.

be the vileſt ſlaves in the univerſe, are now to be deſtroyed if they can do it: For we have no fields to cultivate, neither mines nor havens to be employed in: And therefore to what purpoſe ſhould they let us live; beſides, the courage and reſolution of the conquered is never grateful to the conqueror: And this diſtance and privacy itſelf, as it makes us ſafe, ſo it will make us the more ſuſpected.

Thus ſeeing we have nothing to rely upon, let us put on reſolution, as well thoſe who tender their own ſafety, as they who value honour and glory. The Trinobantes, under the conduct of a woman, extirpated one of the colonies, and forced their caſtles: Nay, if ſucceſs had not ſlackened their diligence, they might have entirely rid themſelves of the Roman yoke. We are as yet whole and untouched: We were born free; let us ſhew them in the firſt onſet the bravery of the men they will meet on this ſide Caledonia. Do you imagine the courage of the Romans in war, to be every jot as great as their debauchery in peace? Their glory is all owing to our diſſentions; the faults of their enemies have been made uſe of to raiſe the reputation of their army. As nothing but ſucceſs could have held that medley-army of theirs, picked out of ſo many nations, together; ſo they would ſoon diſſolve upon a miſcarriage, unleſs we can ſuppoſe that the Gauls and Germans, nay, to our ſhame be it ſpoken, many of our own countrymen will lend them their lives to eſtabliſh a foreign power, who have yet been longer enemies than ſlaves to them, and go on with a true zeal and affection to this quarrel. No, this is nothing but the effect of fear and terror, which are no great motives of endearments; theſe removed, their hatred will break out, as their fear goes cauſeleſs.

We have all the motives that excite victory on our ſide; the Romans have no wives to encourage them to ſtand to it; no parents to upbraid them, if they run away: They have either no country at all, many of them, or at leaſt not here, to animate them: Their number is ſo ſmall, that they ſtand in fear, gazing at the haven, the ſea, the woods, and every thing that is ſtrange about them, that they ſeem pent here and delivered to our hands by Providence.

Let us not be daunted by the ſhew they make, by the glare and ſhining of their gold and ſilver, which will neither defend them, nor hurt us. We ſhall find thoſe of our ſide in the very body of the enemy. The Britons know very well it is their own game and intereſt: The Gauls are ſtill mindful of their loſt liberty; and the Germans will deſert them, as the Uſipians but lately did.

Beſide

Beſide this, there is nothing can put a ſtop to us: The caſtles are emptied: The colonies conſiſt but of old men; and the cities are in diſcontent and factions, while they unwillingly obey thoſe that unjuſtly govern them: Ye ſee the Roman general and army here before you: There are the tributes, mines, and all the plagues and puniſhments that attend ſlavery: It is to be tried by this day's engagement, whether or no we are to endure them from this moment for ever, or be immediately revenged on them: And therefore ſince we are now to diſpute this with them, let us think both on our anceſtors and our poſterity.

This is the ſpeech of the valiant Galgacus—*Gwallawc ap Lluenawc* in the Britiſh tongue—to his Caledonian army. And though the elegances and rhetorical flouriſhes of it may in a great meaſure be owing to the eloquent pen of the relator; yet the matter and ſubſtance (being peradventure taken up by ſome one who underſtood both languages, related to Agricola, and ſo * to the hiſtorian) might be the very ſame that was ſpoken by that noble Briton. But whatever ſome may think of this ſpeech, that other incomparable one of CARACTACUS—*Cariadoc* with us—before Claudius and the whole ſenate of Rome, can have no ſuſpicion of being by the hiſtorian put upon him. For what that noble captive ſpoke and delivered then before that auguſt aſſembly was ſo much taken notice of and admired, and made that impreſſion on the people of Rome, that it is not to be ſuppoſed that any hiſtorian, within ſo ſhort a time as Tacitus wrote his hiſtory after it, could conveniently feign it.

* Some imagine, and indeed not unreaſonably, that Tacitus was himſelf about this time, with his father-in-law, J. Agricola, in Britain; being induced to think ſo, by the very minute and lively deſcription he gives of many things, and the circumſtances of them, therein acted; particularly from a paſſage in his book of the Life of Agricola, cap. 24. where mentioning an Iriſh prince, who had fled to Agricola for ſuccours againſt his rebellious ſubjects that had expelled him; Tacitus thereupon immediately adds, *Sæpè ex eo audivi*, (i. e.) he many times told me (being no doubt aſſiſted by an interpreter, if he meant that Iriſhman) how eaſy it was for the Romans, with a few forces, to maſter all Ireland. See Philoſ. Tranſ. Numb. 356. p. 783.

However, it is pretty plain that Agricola (if from him the hiſtorian often heard it) took care to furniſh Tacitus with an exact account of many particulars in that Britiſh expedition, and not unlikely gave him the true purport of this ſpeech of Galgacus, for often relating infers ſo much.

The SPEECH of CARACTACUS.

When CARACTACUS, *with a great train of his countrymen and family, was brought in chains before the emperor, he ſpake, ſays Tacitus *, to this purpoſe, as he ſtood before Cæſar's tribunal.*

IF the moderation of my mind in proſperity had been anſwerable to my quality and fortune, I might have come a friend rather than a captive into this city; and you without diſhonour might have entered into league with me, royally deſcended, and then at the head of many nations. As my ſtate at preſent is diſgraceful; ſo yours is honourable and glorious. I had horſes, men, arms and riches; why then is it ſtrange I ſhould be loath to part with them? But ſince your power and empire muſt be univerſal, we of courſe among all others muſt be ſubject. If I had immediately yielded, neither my fortune nor your glory had been ſo eminent in the world. My grave would have buried the memory of it, as well as me: Whereas if you ſuffer me to live now, your clemency will live in me for ever as an example to after ages.

Now, what ſo brief, and altogether ſo full and tranſcendently ſurpriſing, as the words of this brave heroic perſon, probably ſpoken in his own Britiſh tongue, and interpreted to the noble audience? His addreſs and comportment, his ſtrong ſenſe and courage, what are they but ſo many advocates for our country's reputation, ſo many witneſſes that ſuch an accompliſhed and magnanimous ſoul was not bred up in barbariſm and ignorance? And that it muſt be confeſſed, that the ſchool and diſcipline which formed thoſe minds, and inſtilled into them theſe bright and noble ſentiments, muſt be furniſhed with a conſiderable ſhare of virtue and knowledge, which here could be no other than that of the Druids.

Having produced theſe noble effects of Druidical education in the addreſs and behaviour of the perſons they had brought up; I ſhall here ſubjoin a ſmall ſpecimen of their ethics, or the form the *Bards* made uſe of in compoſing and reciting to their pupils the documents of humanity; which they were obliged to learn by heart; every third verſe concluding with a moral maxim, after this manner.

* Annal. Lib. xii.

† By the three first, they seem to invocate their groves, and to shut out the great privileges of the priests of those groves or professed Druids, in being made free by their profession from all restraints and exactions, as Cæsar records of them, De Bell. Gal. lib. 6.

† *Marchwiail Bedw brigas,*
A dyn fy nhroed o Wanas:
*Nac addef dy * rin i Was.*

Marchwiail Derw mwynllwyn,
A dyn fy nhroed o Gadwyn:
Nac addef dy rin i Forwyn.

Marchwiail Derw deiliar,
A dyn fy nhroed o Garchar:
Nac addef dy rin i ‡ Lavar.

† By the other three, they seem to invocate the mountain *Eyryri*, as the Greeks did Parnassus, and the Cretans mount Ida; for Gildas expresly tells us that they worshipped mountains and rivers; and then concluded every triam. hick with a moral doctrine; and out of such verses as these, I doubt not, all our British adages were collected.

† *Eyry mynydd, Hydd esgud,*
Odid enaidiawr o'n byd.
Rhyhydd i drwch ni weryd.

Eyry mynydd, pysc yn rhyd,
Cyrchyt Carw culgrwm cwm clud:
Hiraeth am Farw ni weryd.

Eyry mynydd, gwynt ae tawl,
Llydan llaergan, glas tafawl:
Odid dyn diried dihawl.

An old Cornish Englyn of the same sort, found by Mr. *Lhwyd* ‖.

An lafar kôth yw lafar gwîr,
Bedd dorn rê fer, dhon tafaz rê hîr:
Mez dén heb dafaz a gollaz i dîr.

That these were some of those very verses by which the Druids used to instruct their scholars, though from the purport of them one may have grounds to believe they were, I will not affirm. Yet we are sure they are very ancient, as being collected by *Lhowarch Hén*, a prince of Cumberland, who lived Anno 590, and amongst his *Epicedia* or *Englynion* preserved to this day. That these I recited (though among his works) were not his own, is evident by the language of them, being purely Venedotian or the North-Wales British; whereas his rhimes

* *Cyfrinach*, or a secret. † *Dyn Siaradus*, or a talkative man. ‖ *Archæol Brit.* p. 251,

are in the Cumbrian or Pictiſh * dialect, by us now ſcarcely to be underſtood. And none can doubt but at that time many relics of the Druidical learning, eſpecially the moral part of it, were preſerved either in books or memory. For though the Druids writ nothing, it is probable the ancient Chriſtians who ſucceeded them did, and were careful of preſerving what was good and laudable. After this manner we ſuppoſe they handled other ſciences, which working wholly on the memory, whereby they got the maxims, rules and canons of them by heart, reaſon on any emergence was ſoon enlightened by them, and rendered the men great proficients in what they undertook, as authors relate of them. As to what I ſay here of theſe Druidical verſes, or at leaſt very ancient ones in imitation of them, my late learned friend, † Mr. *Edward Lhwyd* of Oxford, was firmly of the ſame opinion with me therein; and has delivered it to the publick in the end of his Corniſh Grammar, where the reader may find more of this particular.

This therefore being ſo far confirmed by evidence ariſing from the nature of the thing, and ſeconded by ſome ſpecial circumſtances of fact, I ſhall not need here to repeat the ſeveral kinds and ſpecies of knowledge the Britiſh and Gauliſh Druids excelled in, and the many authorities produced for them, which you have in the former Eſſay. But I ſhall rather conclude the reply to the laſt objection, with a ſhort hint of the ſtate and progreſs of knowledge in the firſt ages of the world; and reſolve the whole into a demonſtration of the feaſibleneſs and facility of conveying down a great deal of that original ante-diluvian knowledge to this Druidical ſect or order of men in theſe weſtern parts of Europe; which ſhall be my laſt Propoſition.

* The Cumbrian and Stradclwyd Britons, by vicinity of place, having much communication with the Pictiſh nation, which for a long time had ruled in the Eaſt parts of Scotland, might and probably did borrow and incorporate a great many words of the Pictiſh tongue with their own; of which words not a few might be interſperſed in the ſaid *Epiceäia*; for Iriſh they are not. And tho' I am well aware that authors of good note have affirmed, that that nation and that language have been quite aboliſhed and loſt; yet, I think, it cannot with any good reaſon be made to appear, that a language once flouriſhing in a kingdom, as this did, without utter extirpation of the people that uſed it, can totally ceaſe and periſh, which I take to be naturally impoſſible; languages in one and the ſame country, not ending, but degenerating and dwindling into alterations and variety of dialects and ways of ſpeaking. Neither is it unlikely that theſe noted lines found by Mr. *Lhwyd* on the margins of the Cambridge *Juvencus*, by him mentioned, might be of the ſame ſtamp, viz. another ſpecimen of the Picto-Cumbrian Dialect. See *Archæol Brit.* p. 221.

† The Reader is to underſtand, that a great part of this book was compoſed before the death of the ſaid Mr. *Lhwyd*, but this after; which will reconcile what I ſay of him when living, and what when dead; and Dr Gordon comes alſo under this remark, who was alive when I mentioned him.

PROP-

PROPOSITION XI.

It is generally allowed that before the flood, what by original infuſion into Adam, ſtronger temperament of body, more ſerene and vigorous faculties of ſoul, the unſpeakable advantages of many hundreds of years perſonal experience, *&c.* knowledge in all the parts and circumſtances of it muſt have arrived to a moſt eminent degree of politure and perfection. And knowledge once ſet up and digeſted into poſitions and theorems is eaſily communicable to any age or people that come after.

FIRST, This is amply atteſted and improved into the force of a propoſition, by many excellent authors, both ancient and modern; that is, that Adam was created with a very great perfection of knowledge, and a profound inſight and penetration into the nature of things: Not only, I ſay, the moſt learned of the Jews give great and ample teſtimonies, viz. *Plaſmavit Deus Adam* (ſays the Paraphraſt upon the Samaritan Pentateuch) *replevitque eum cum ſpiritu Sapientiæ & Scientiæ, ut inde ad poſteros omnes Artes ac Scientiæ tamquam ex primo fonte promanarent*—and in this ſtrain they generally comment on Adam's creation; but alſo the text of Moſes ſeems to prove it, Gen. ii. 20. where Adam is brought to give names to things: Which names ſo given, being adapted to the peculiar properties and natures of the things named, it follows that he muſt have a previous inſight and knowledge of the properties and affections of things to give them ſuch agreeable appellations and characters.

SECONDLY, There were many particulars of the ſublimeſt *arcana* of nature diſcovered in thoſe early ages of the world; which prove, either that Adam was ſupernaturally inſtructed in the ſecret knowledge of nature, and that the ideas he ſo received were preſerved by him and communicated; or that ſuch inſtrumental helps for the advancing the reach of human perception, as nature could be capable of ſupplying, were not then wanting. For how, without either of theſe means, viz. a tranſcendent natural or artificial perfection of human faculties, could the Pythagorean ſyſtem of the world, and therein the motion of the earth be ſo anciently eſtabliſhed? Without this ſuppoſition, it is, I think, impoſſible to account for the ancients' diſcovering the medicinal operations and properties of animals, vegetables and minerals—to give a reaſon for the eſtabliſhing (if there be any truth and certainty in it) of what we call judicial aſtrology, which is known alſo to have been

very ancient; and ſeveral other uſeful arts and ſciences, that ſeem to owe their origin to either of theſe two mentioned principles; viz. either to Adam's ſupernatural knowledge communicated, or to ante-diluvians' more advanced and elevated, or inſtrumentally aſſiſted faculties and perceptions. To the former of which, viz. Adam's knowledge communicated, the moſt diligent enquirer into the origin of arts and ſciences, viz. Athanaſius Kircher, in his Ægyptian Oedipus, reſolves the point. *Plerorumque doctorum ſententia eſt, primum humani generis parentem Adamum, in ſummâ perfectione à Deo conditum, eâ rerum, quàm divinarum, quàm humanarum notitiâ excelluiſſe, ut ſicuti nullus ex humano genere cujus princeps erat, & à puris hominibus à Deo majori perfectione conditus, ita nullum quoque majoribus animi corporiſque donis imbitum fuiſſe credendum eſt. Et ut inſuſâ ſibi rerum omnium ſcientiâ divinitùs inſtructus fuiſſe legitur; ita inſignem quoque medicarum facultatum lapidibus, plantis, animalibus, inſitarum notitiam habuiſſe certiſſimum eſt; ſapienti igitur Dei conſilio factum eſt, ut Adamus ſcientiam rerum naturalium ſibi communicatam, poſteris ſuis traderet.*

To Kircher our countryman Bale, in the tenth century of our Britiſh writers, fully aſſents; and delivers it as the ſentiment of the generality of authors on that point. *Ex Adamo* (ſaith he) *tanquam ex fonte omnes artes bonæ & omnis ſcientia humana profluxit. Hic primus cæleſtium corporum motus, plantarum, animantium, & omnium creaturarum naturas, rationem eccleſiaſticæ, politicæ & oeconomicæ gubernationis primam publicavit; ex cujus ſchola quicquid eſt humanarum artium & ſapientiæ, in totum genus humanum, per patres eſt poſteà propagatum; ſiquidem quid Aſtronomiæ, Geometria, & aliæ artes in ſe continent, totum ſcivit.* I could recite more inſtances corroborating this particular; but this may ſuffice, ſince it is a thing generally allowed and conſented to.

But however this ancient profound and moſt exquiſite knowledge of the nature of things was firſt diſcovered; we may be ſure it quickly improved itſelf by the fore-mentioned advantages of the long lives, ſtrong intellects, and vigorous conſtitutions of the ante-diluvian patriarchs, into various ſchemes and ſyſtems of ſciences; divine and human, natural and moral, and into innumerable mechanic arts and inventions, ſerving the neceſſity, profit and pleaſure of human life; and that alſo in the way and manner of communicating this knowledge, the choiceſt ſecrets and *arcana* of it, both divine and natural, were carefully locked up from vulgar ſight in a religious *Cabala*, and by it orally communicated from one perſon to another. As for example; from Adam to Seth,

Seth, from Seth to Enoch, from Enoch to Methuſelah, from Methuſelah to Noah, and ſo to the poſt-diluvian world; whereof we have the univerſal conſent of ancients and moderns avouching it to us. So that if Adam had ever a true knowledge and comprehenſion of the occult nature, compoſition, frame, texture and ſyſtems of things; of their principles and operations, of their motions and habitudes, and other ſpecifical affections, upon which all arts and ſciences were grounded—all which, either by infuſion or external communication he might well have—it is thence eaſily demonſtrable, that at length a great part of that knowledge might come to, and be poſſeſſed by ſome of the *Coryphæi* of our weſtern *Celtæ*; and might ſome time after, come alſo by their means to kindle and diffuſe itſelf into the oral theorems and placits of the fore-mentioned Britiſh Druids.

For to make this more eaſily conceivable, let us ſuppoſe (which is in itſelf very ſuppoſable) that but one man, having taken into his breaſt a ſound draught of Cabaliſtical knowledge, and having credit enough to back his affirmations, is ſufficiently able to ſet up a general learning in any nation, where the genius and temper of people are not very moroſe and ſtupid; and let us withal remember, that though we date and fix the original of Druidiſm about the time of Abraham, tho' in all likelihood it exiſted ſooner; yet we are ſure that Shem was then alive, who might ſee, converſe with, and have his knowledge from Methuſelah, who alſo might ſee, converſe with, and have his knowledge from Adam; in whom, as we have now ſuppoſed, the knowledge of God and nature, in all the branches of it, eminently flouriſhed.

And it is very plain and undeniable by the Moſaic accounts, that Adam lived to the time of Methuſelah, and Methuſelah to the time of Shem, who lived five hundred years after the Univerſal Deluge; within the limits of which time, we have grounds to conclude that the iſle of Britain was conſiderably peopled, and the Druidical principles formed and eſtabliſhed in it. So that we may ceaſe to wonder at the finding ſo many rich veins of ancient knowledge laid open and diſcovered ſo early in the Celtic nation; which yet by this manner of demonſtrating, appears to have been, in the ordinary way of information, but three or four removes at fartheſt from Adam's great univerſal knowledge. And therefore where Greek and Roman authors aſcribe to theſe Druids, or our ancient weſtern philoſophers, eminent ſkill in aſtronomy, phyſiology, medicine, magic, morality, and other parts of choicer learning, together with ſome other umbrages of revealed know-

ledge, as the præ-exiſtence and immortality of human ſouls, eternal beatitudes, the propitiation of ſacrifices, and other documents tranſcending the reach of *meer* human ſagacity; we may this way wind them up to their firſt bottom, and give the world a ſatisfaction in that particular, which no arguments taken from remoteneſs of place, vulgar ignorance, want of letters, and the like pretences can at all ſhock, or be of force to impair the grounds and evidence of it.

To conclude; this is what led me to, and what I offer in defence of, my conjectures in this matter. I would obtrude and impoſe nothing. Others may think as they will; and where they gueſs righter, they have my ready aſſent. Only in what I have done, my wiſh is, that arguments, without prejudice to perſons or parties, may be fairly weighed and conſidered: And if truth, or any obſcure features of it, appear in any of thoſe I have here laid down, that they may be looked upon and treated as they deſerve, though the hand be ever ſo rude and unſkilful that brings them into view, and ſubmits them to the judgment of the candid and impartial.

APPENDIX.

AN

APPENDIX;

CONTAINING A

COMPARATIVE TABLE

OF

LANGUAGES:

WITH

SOME LETTERS ADDED.

A

TABLE

RELATING TO THE

Sixth Section of the Firſt Eſſay,

SHEWING,

The Affinity and near Reſemblance, both in Sound and Signification, of many Words of the Antient Languages of Europe with the Original Hebrew Tongue; which, it is preſumed, they retained as Relics of it, after the Confuſion at Babel; with ſome Remarks upon it.

FOR the better underſtanding of the parallels of this following Table, it is to be obſerved, that letters of one and the ſame organ are of common uſe in the pronunciation of words of different languages—as for example, *M, B, V, F, P,* are labials: *T, D, S,* are dentals: *G, Ch, H, K, C,* are gutturals—and therefore if the Hebrew word or ſound begins with, or is made of, any one of the labials, any of the reſt of the ſame organ will anſwer it in the derivative languages. The ſame is to be obſerved in uſing the dental and the guttural letters. For in tracing out the origin of words, we are more to regard the ſound of them than their literal form and compoſition; wherein we find words very often, by the humours and fancy of people, tranſpoſed and altered from their native ſounds, and yet in their ſignification they very well fit their original patterns. I

ſhall only exemplify in the letters *M*, *B*, and *V*, which are of one organ, that is, are formed by one inſtrument, the lip; and therefore are promiſcuouſly uſed the one for the other in pronouncing words of one language in another. The Hebrew *B* is generally pronounced as a *V* conſonant. And the Iriſh alſo, moſt commonly in the middle of a word, pronounce *M* as a *V*; as we find the antient Britons to have made uſe of *V*, or rather *F*, which they pronounce as *V*, for *M* and *B* in many Latin words; as,

LATIN.	BRITISH.	LATIN.	BRITISH.
Animal	*Aniſail*	*Numerus*	*Niſer*
Turma	*Tyrfa*	*Columna*	*Coloſn*
Terminus	*Terfyn*	*Gemelli*	*Gefeill*
Calamus	*Calaf*	*Roma*	*Rhufain*
Primus	*Prif*	*Scribo*	*Scrifenu*
Amnis	*Afon*	*Liber*	*Llyfr*
Arma	*Arfau*	*Remus*	*Rhwyf*
Firmus	*Ffyrf*	*Domo*	*Doſi*
Monumentum	*Monſent*	*Rebello*	*Rhyfela*
Firmamentum	*Ffurfaſen*	*Pluma*	*Pluf*
Lamentor	*Llefain*	*Catamanus*	*Cadfan*
Elementum	*Elfen*	*Dimetæ*	*Dyfed*
Memorare	*Myſyrio*	*Lima*	*Llif*
Hyems	*Gauaf*	*Lamina*	*Llafn*, &c.
Clamare	*Llafaru*		

We are not to wonder at this analogy of ſounds in the primitive diſtinction of languages. For before the uſe of writing, which has eſtabliſhed the correct form of words, people were only guided by the ear in taking the ſound of words, and they pronounced and uttered them again as the organs of their voice were beſt fitted for it; and it happening that the aptitude and diſpoſition of thoſe organs, peculiar to ſome people and countries, were various (as we find to this day ſome nations cannot ſhape their voice to expreſs all the ſounds of another's tongue), it accordingly affected and inclined ſome parties of people to ſpeak the ſame conſonants harder or ſofter, to utter the ſame vowels broader or narrower, longer or ſhorter, as they found themſelves beſt diſpoſed to do. And thereupon cuſtom prevailing

prevailing with particular ſets of people to continue the uſe of ſuch different pronunciation as they affected, the words ſo varied came at length to take on them different forms, and to be eſteemed and taken as parts of different languages, though in their origin they were one and the ſame *.

* It is commonly obſerved, that different climates, airs and aliments, do very much diverſify the tone of the parts and muſcles of human bodies; on ſome of which the modulation of the voice much depends. The peculiar moiſture of one country, the drought of another (other cauſes from food, &c. concurring) extend or contract, ſwell or attenuate, the organs of the voice, that the ſound made thereby is rendered either ſhrill or hoarſe, ſoft or hard, plain or liſping, in proportion to that contraction or extenſion. And hence it is, that the Chineſe and Tartars have ſome ſounds in their language, that Europeans can ſcarce imitate: And it is well known in Europe itſelf, that an Engliſhman is not able agreeably to converſe with a ſtranger, even in one and the ſame Latin; nay, even in England, it is noted by Mr. Camden and Dr. Fuller, that the natives of *Carleton-Curlew* in Leiceſterſhire, by a certain peculiarity of the place, have the turn of their voice very different from thoſe of the neighbouring villages.

HEBREW.	DERIVATIVES.		ENGLISH.
AUACH Even	Awch	*Brit.*	The edge or point of a ſword, *&c.*
Agam *or* Leagam	Maen	—	A ſtone
Ivah	Lagam	*Corn.*	A pool or ſtanding water, a lake
Auor	Deis--yfu	*Br.*	To deſire
Ano	Awyr	—	Lightned air
Achei	Yno	—	Then, in that place, or at that time
Aedenei	Achau	—	Brethren, or kindred
Calal	Gwadnau	—	The ſoles of the feet
Domen	Cyllell	—	To wound or pierce
Gehel	Tomen	—	Muck or dung.
Sâl	——	——	Coal
Kadal	Sâl	*Br.*	Vile or of no account
Aggan	Gadael	—	To forſake or deſiſt from
Alaph	Angeion	*Greek*	A veſſel or earthen pot
Bama	'Alphω	——	To find
Hag	Bωmòs	——	An altar
Hadar	ωAgios	——	Holy
	Cadair / Katha	*Br.* / *Iriſh*	Honour or reverence
Hia	Y hi	*Br.*	She, or any thing feminine
Goph	Corph	—	A body
Deraich	Braich / Raich	— / *Iriſh*	An arm
Dad	Diden	*Br.*	The dug, breaſt, or udder
Ager	Aggero	*Lat.*	To heap together
Elah	-Illi, illæ	—	They, *maſc. & fem.*
Angil	Axilla	—	The arm-pit
Dapſh	Daps	—	Cheer or dainties
Hen	En! ecce!	—	Lo! behold!
Phar	Phérω	*Greek*	To bear or carry
Harabon	Arrhabon	——	A pawn or pledge
Phalat	Phulátt ω	——	To keep or defend
Pathah	Peíthω	——	To perſuade
Gab	Gibbus	*Lat.*	Bent or crooked
Dur	Duro	—	To remain and endure
Laiſh	Lis	*Greek*	A lion
Deka	Dekω	——	To bite
Ephach	Ophis	——	A ſerpent
Dath	Deddf	*Br.*	A law
Denah	Dyna	—	This, or that, or there it is
Hiſſah	Ys taw / Diſtaw	— / —	Be ſilent
Cala	Claf	—	To be ſick
Clei	Cleas	*Iriſh*	Jewels and ornaments

Devar

Hebrew.	Derivatives.		English.
Devar	Deveirim	*Iriſh*	To ſpeak
Ein	Ynys	*Br.*	Iſland
Hama	Aman	*Armor.*	Butter
	Ymenyn	*Br.*	
	Im	*Iriſh*	
Ivo	Nava	—	His enemy
Beala	Mealam	—	To be waſted, or conſumed
Vock	Vacuus	*Lat.*	Empty
	Gwâc	*Br.*	
Aita	Ydyw	—	Is, or are
Bar	Bar	*Iriſh*	Son
Bareh	Bara	*Br.*	Meat, or victuals
Beram	Verùm	*Lat.*	But, nevertheleſs
Beth	Bwth	*Br.*	A houſe, or cottage
Se	She	*Iriſh*	He or him
Gaha	Iachau	*Br.*	To heal, or cure
Gad	Câd	—	An army
Boten	Potten	—	The belly
Gever	Gwr	—	A man
Hada	'Εδω	*Greek*	To cheriſh and make much of
Boa	Βάω	——	To come
Aniah	Aníα	——	Sadneſs
Charath	Χαράττω	——	To inſculp or engrave
Maas	Μιſέω	——	I hate
Semain	Σημαίνω	——	I ſhew and demonſtrate
Aaz	'Αιξ	——	A goat
Aleth	Alaeth	*Br.*	A curſe, or misfortune
Elil	Ellylly	—	Idol, or hobgoblin
Allun	Llwyn	—	A grove of oaks
Amunath	Amynedd	—	Conſtancy, or patience
Ap	Wep	—	Face, or countenance
Itho	Iddo	—	With him
Atun	Odyn	—	A furnace, or a kiln
Atha	Aeth	—	Went, or came
Iſche	Yſſu	—	To burn
Emaeth	Ymaith	—	From him
Barach	Parch	—	To eſteem, or bleſs
Gobah	Coppa	—	The top or ſummit of a thing
Geven	Cefn	—	A ridge, or back
Gedad	Gwiwdod	—	Excellency
Gaiaph	Cau	—	To ſhut, or incloſe
Evil	——	——	Evil
Beaſch	——	——	Baſe
Babel	——	——	To babble
Baroth	——	——	Broth
Gaah	——	——	Gay
Dum	——	——	Dumb

Hebrew.	Derivatives.		English.
Duſch	——	——	To daſh, or tread under feet
Hebiſch	——	——	To abaſh
Hua	——	——	He, *maſc. gend.*
Haras	——	——	To haraſs, or deſtroy
Chittah	——	——	Wheat
Meſurah	——	——	A meaſure
Sahap	——	——	To ſweep
Charath	——	——	To write
Saar	——	——	A ſhower
Aanna	——	——	To annoy
Phæer	——	——	Fair
Pheret	——	——	A part, or portion
Phærek	——	——	Fierce
Eretz	——	——	Earth
Sad	——	——	Side
Spor	——	——	A ſparrow
Kinneh	——	——	A cane
Kera	——	——	To cry
Shekel	——	——	Skill
Rechus	——	——	Riches
Kre	——	——	A crow
Paſa	——	——	To paſs
Halal	——	——	A hole
Catat	——	——	To cut
Ragez	——	——	To rage
Ragal	——	——	To rail, or detract
Maguur	Magwyr	—	Habitation, or a walled dwelling
Madhevi	Myddfai	—	Diſtempers and diſeaſes
Doroth	Toreth	—	Generations, encreaſe, or the fruits of the womb
Dal	Tal	—	Tall and high
Havah	Y fu	—	Was, or has been
Mahalac	Malc	—	A pathway, or a balk to tread on
Hilo	Heulo	—	Shining. *Apollo, Sol*
Tor	Toar Terfyn	*Iriſh* *Br.*	A boundary, or limit
Siu	Syw	—	Reſplendent
Achalas	Achles	—	Defence, or protection
Machaneh	Machno *and* Mechain	— —	Places of defence of old in the county of Montgomery. Penmachno
Chorau	Crau	—	Holes, ſuch as the needle-eye
Choreſh	Cors	—	A place full of ſmall wood or reeds
Nodah	Nodi	—	To make known, or note
Jadha	Addef 'Oida	— *Greek*	To know, or acknowledge
Hathorath	Athrawiaeth	*Br.*	Diſcipline

Jch

Hebrew.	Derivatives.		English.
Jch	Eich	*Br.*	Your, or your own
Jared	I wared	—	Defcended
Cha	Chwi	—	You
Jain	Gwin	—	Wine
Toledouth	Tylwyth	—	Generations, or families
Lus	Llyfu	—	To go away, or avoid
Caolath	Colled	—	A loſs
Hounil	Ynnill	—	Gain
Jeſter	Yſtyr	—	Conſideration
Jadadh	Gwahodd	—	To invite
Cafodoth	Cyfoeth	—	Honours, or wealth
Cis	Ciſt	—	A cheſt
Bar	Far / Bara	*Lat* / *Br.*	Bread-corn
Shevah	——	——	Seven
Dakar	——	——	A dagger
Hinnek	——	——	To hang
Shelet	——	——	A ſhield
Hever	——	——	Over, or above
Shibbar	——	——	To ſhiver, or quake
Jiled	——	——	A * child
Chœbel	——	——	A cable
Parak	——	——	To break
Gannaf	——	——	A knave, or a thief
Coll	——	——	All
Hannah	——	——	To annoy, or hurt
Eth	Etos / Ætas	*Greek* / *Lat.*	A year, or age
San	Cœna	—	A ſupper
Nabal	Nebulo	—	A churl
Mot	Motus	—	Motion
Bath	Batos	*Greek*	A thorn
Eden	Edone	——	Pleaſure
Kolah	Klein	——	To praiſe
Sas	Ses	——	A moth
Phac	Phake	——	Lentil
Skopac	Scopein	——	To ſpeculate
Jounec	Jevangc	*Br.*	A ſuckling
Hamohad	Ammod	—	Covenant, or appointment
Parad	Pared	—	A partition, or ſeparation
Keren	Corn	—	A horn
Keſel	Ceſail	—	The arm-pit
Me-Ab	Mâb	—	Son, or from a father
Luung	Llyngcu	—	To ſwallow, or devour
Temutha	Difetha	—	Deſtruction

* *Jild Teka*, thou art my ſon, Pſal. ii. 7.

Hebrew.	Derivatives.		English.
Ceremluach	Cromlech	*Br.*	A ſacrificing ſtone
Hamule	Aml	—	Plenty, or ſtore
Mah?	Mae?	—	What? where? how?
Magal	Maglu	—	To betray
Makel	Magl	—	A ſtaff
Meria	Mêr	—	Fat, or marrow
Mout	Mudo	—	To remove
Meth	Methu	—	To die, or fail
Mar	Maer	—	A lord
Marad	Brad	—	* Rebellion
Nafe	Nef	—	Joyful
Taphilu	Taflu	—	To caſt, or throw
Hanes	Hanes	—	To ſignify, or account
Nevath	Neuadd	—	Habitation, or hall
Jiſſal	Iſel *or* Iſelu	—	To throw down
Naoaph	Nwyf	—	Incontinency, or luſt
Nadu	Nadu	—	They moan and lament
Sethar	Sathru	—	To throw under feet
Heber	Aber	—	A ford, or paſſage
Nucchu	Nychu	—	Being ſmitten or afflicted
Nuu	Nhwy	—	They, or thoſe
Naodhad	Nodded	—	To eſcape and take refuge
Gadah	Gadaw	—	To paſs by
Niued	Niweid	—	To ſpoil
Goloth	Golwyth	—	Burnt-offerings
Mohal	Moel	—	Top of a hill
Galas	Glwys	—	Pleaſant
Haſem	Aſen	—	A rib, or bone
Garevath	Gwarth	—	Shame
Taphug	Diffyg	—	Want, or defect
Phoreth	Ffrwyth	—	Fruit or effect
Pach	Bach	—	A crooked ſtick
Pinnouth	Pennaeth	—	Chief, or uppermoſt
Phinnah	Ffynnu	—	To proſper
Path	Peth	—	A part or portion
Philegeſh	Ffiloges	—	A concubine
Caton	Cwttyn	—	Short and little
Cir	Caer	—	A walled town
Reith	Rhîth	—	Appearance
Tireneh	Trîn	—	To feed and look after
Ragah	Rhwygo	—	To tear, or rend
Raſah	Râs *and* Rhâd	—	Grace, or good will
Semen	Saim	—	Fat, or oil
Saraph	Sarph	—	A ſerpent
Sac	Sâch	—	A † ſack

* *Merzdath* is the ſame with *Marad*, a Britiſh name, ancient tongues.

† It has this ſound in moſt of the

Phuk

Hebrew.	Derivatives.		English.
Phuk	{Ffûg {Fucus	*Br.* *Lat.*	Diſguiſe, *and* Deceit
Phæræk	Ferocia	—	Fierceneſs
Pinnah	Pinna	—	Battlement
Pigger	Piger fuit	—	Lazy, and untoward
Naca	Neco	—	To ſlay
Ad	Ad	—	Unto
Nut	Nuto	—	To nod, or beckon unto
Darag	Trechω	*Greek*	To run to, or come at
Bala	Palai	——	Some time ago
Hannak	{'Agchω {Tagu	—— *Br.*	To ſtrangle
Naar	Nearos	*Greek*	New or lately, nearotical
Agab	'Agapaω	——	To love, or to be much affected
Pacha	Pege	——	A fountain
Paraſh	Phraſω	——	To declare
Kol	Kalêω, *Gr.* Galw, *Br.*		To call
Maſhal	Baſileuω	*Greek*	To reign
Shareka	Syrinx	——	A ſyringe
Bekarim	Pecora	*Lat.*	Cattle
Ahel	Aula	—	A hall
Carpas	Carbaſus	—	Fine linen or lawn
Æſh	Æſtus, *Lat.* Tês, *Br.*		Heat, or hot weather
Gibar	Guberno	*Lat.*	To govern
Parah	Vireo	—	To look green and flouriſhing
Ki	Quia	—	Wherefore, *or* becauſe
Olam	Olim	—	Of old
Golem	Glomus	—	A clew of thread
Amam	Ymam	—	Mother
Coaphar	Gwobr	—	Reward, or ſatisfaction
Cala	Caula	*Lat.*	A ſheep-fold
Sarch	Serch	*Br.*	Luſtful
Goliath	Glwth	—	A bed, or bed chamber
Pathehen	Puttain	—	A whore
Burgad	Bwrgais	—	A burgeſs
Terag	Drwg	—	Bad or evil
Daſgar	Dyſgl	—	A diſh
Shiovang	Siongc	—	Honourable, well to paſs
Anas	Annos	—	To inſtigate, or incite
Tam	Dim	—	Nothing
Pherch	Y ferch	—	A tender branch, a daughter
Tetuva	Edifar	—	Penitent
Leamor	Ar lafar	—	Saying
Caſas	Ceiſio	—	To ſearch or ſeek
Cark	Carchar	—	To bind, or impriſon
Kam	Cammu	—	To bend, or make crooked
Caffa	Cyff	—	A beam, or a joiſt

Hebrew.	Derivatives.		English.
Cevel	Ar gyfyl	*Br.*	Near, or in preſence of
Dumga	Dammeg	—	A ſimile, or a proverb
Tor *and* Sor	Tarw	—	A bull
Turna	Teyrn	—	A prince, or potentate
Manos	Mynydd	—	A mountain
Malas	Melys	—	Sweet, or to ſweeten
Palac	Plygu	—	To fold, or lap up
Banc	Mainc	—	A bench
Malal	Malu	—	To grind
Marak	Marc	—	A note or character
Cadif	Gwadu	—	To tell a lie, or deny
Tohum	Dyfn	—	Depth
Celar	Coler	—	A neck-band
Corontha	Coron	—	A crown, or diadem
Berek	Breg	—	A breach, or ſciſſure
Bagad	Bagad	—	A great many
Arach	Arogli	—	To ſmell
Nagaſh	Yn agos	—	To approach, or draw nigh
Ciliah	Ceilliau	—	Stones or teſticles
Gevr	Cawr	—	A giant
Kec	Ceg	—	A mouth, or throat
Kun	Cwyno	—	To lament
Natſar	Dinyſtr	—	Deſtruction, or ruin
Pinnah	Pinagl	—	A top of a thing, or pinnacle
Mahalal	Mawl *or* Moli	—	To praiſe, or glorify
Hedel	Hoedl	—	Life, age
Halal	Haul	—	Sun, or to ſhine
Gavel	Gafael	—	Tenure, or lands bounded
Laſhadd	Glaſaidd	—	Blueiſh
Gerem	Grym, grymmus	—	Bony or ſtrong
Maſac	Cym-myſcu	—	To mingle
Gana	Canu	—	To ſing
Celimmah	Calumnia	*Lat.*	Reproach and calumny
Netz	Niſus	—	Endeavour
Ptſel	Pſile,	*Greek*	To make bare, or uncover
Shuſhan	Souſon	——	Lilly
Shecan	Scene,	——	To dwell in tabernacles
Kalal	Gwael	*Br.*	Vile, or of no account
Taffi	Diffoddi	—	To extinguiſh
Tſelem	Delw	—	An image
Hoberi	Obry	—	Men over againſt, or men on the other ſide
Aen-adon	Anudon	—	Diſclaiming God, or perjury

The Collection of many of the Hebrew-Britiſh words in this Table I owe to the induſtry of Mr. Ch. Edwards, author of The Brief Hiſtory of the Chriſtian Religion, publiſhed in the Welſh tongue.

REMARKS

REMARKS on this TABLE.

THE great analogy and unaffected reſemblance between the primitive and derivative words in this catalogue (abating the different ways of pronouncing in different languages) is a plain and ample evidence, that the ſeveral words of the languages therein mentioned owe their origin to, and derivation from, the firſt and moſt ancient language of mankind, generally called the Hebrew tongue. And our Britiſh, even in the ſtate it is at preſent (for I meddle not with any, or very few of its old obſolete words) having more ſounds in it, agreeing with that primitive tongue, than all the reſt put together, is alſo an argument that this Britiſh tongue was in its firſt ſtructure and origin one of the primary iſſues of it; and that if we give way to criticiſm and etymology, it muſt be from that original language that we are to derive and account for many words and names in our Britiſh tongue, which otherwiſe would be unaccountable.

But now to be more perfectly ſatisfied what this original Hebrew tongue was; and whether we brought what we had and have ſtill of it here, with our firſt planters and others of the ſame ſtock and language with them, from Babel; or had it afterward tranſported here from Phœnicia by the tin-traders, which ſeems to be the opinion of ſome of late, but ſo ill-grounded that I take it not worth confuting; I ſhall beg the reader's leave to remark and examine a little further than I have done before into thoſe points of difficulty that appear in the two former particulars, viz. what this original Hebrew tongue was, and whether we brought what we have ſtill of it *here*, with our firſt planters and others of the ſame ſtock and language with them, from Babel.

In order to which I ſhall here lay down theſe three Propoſitions, from which I ſhall endeavour to draw ſuch corollaries as ſhall be of force to infer a concluſion that I hope will evince the truth of the matter before us.

FIRST, That there was one, and but one language in the world, from the time of Adam to the building of Babel.

SECONDLY, That at the building of the tower of Babel, there happened among thoſe who were concerned in that daring wicked attempt a ceſſation, for ſome time at leaſt, and confuſion of that language.

THIRDLY, That upon the extraordinary ceſſation or confuſion of the firſt language, the men who were engaged in that grand overture, were fain to remove their quarters and to diſperſe themſelves in ſeparate families to plant and inhabit the face of the earth. And in that removal and diſperſion, every ſeparate tribe or family, retaining in a due tenor their faculties of underſtanding, and the organical diſpoſition of their voice; and by what they could recollect and recover of their diſſipated ancient language, were neceſſitated to improve that little ſtock of words ſo recovered, and where they found themſelves at a loſs, to frame new ones into a way or mode of ſpeaking, different from the improvements, forms and ways of ſpeaking at the ſame time made uſe of in other families; which in the different progreſs of thoſe improvements came at length to be what we call different languages.

PROPOSITION I.

The Firſt Propoſition, That there was but one language from the time of Adam or the beginning of the world to the diſperſion at Babel, at leaſt from the Univerſal Deluge to that time, is readily granted by all who acknowledge the authority of the ſacred ſcriptures; for it is there expreſly affirmed, that then, viz. before that diſperſion, the whole earth was *Unius Labii*, of one language and of one ſpeech, Gen. xi. 1.

Now from this general Propoſition, three queſtions will naturally ariſe. Firſt, Whether it was one language that was ſpoken by men from the creation to the time of that diſperſion? Secondly, What that language was? and, Thirdly, At what time the confuſion of that language happened—and if Noah was then alive?

FIRST, As to the ſameneſs and identity of that language from Adam to the deluge (for thence to the diſperſion no one queſtions it) the account that Moſes gives in the place referred to, is not expreſs, I own, further than the words—*whole earth*—will bear it; which yet one would think would be to little purpoſe for him to have ſaid (the whole generation of men being then, viz. at the diſperſion but one family under one *Pater-Familias*, that is, Noah, and who cannot be preſumed to have more than one language among them) if the ſacred penman had one thereby meant all the preceding generations thence to the creation.

And this meaning of his, I hope, will appear to be very reaſonable, when we conſider this matter a little further, and take in theſe following particulars. Firſt, The nature of that language. Secondly, The condition of the men that propagated and made uſe of it. And, Thirdly,

Thirdly, The remains, as to names and things, which we have in ſcripture of it.

FIRST, The nature of that firſt language we are to examine two ways. Firſt, In relation to God. Secondly, To man. In relation to God, we are to believe that God made nothing imperfect; and having created man in his own likeneſs, he not only gave him powers and faculties ſuitable to his intended felicity on earth, but ſuch a perfection of them as his nature was capable of. Now ſhall we think that God created Adam with that perfection of faculties his nature was capable of, and his ſocial happineſs required, and yet left him, like a child new-born, dumb and without ſpeech? It is not to be imagined. The firſt act we find of him is ſpeaking; and ſpeaking too in ſuch perfection, that he could readily give names ſuitable to the natures and properties of thoſe his fellow-creatures, which were brought unto him; which is a plain argument, that God gave him actual ſpeech with his other perfections. And if this ſpeech of Adam was of God's own making, and infuſed into him with his other perfections, I ſhall make no ſcruple to affirm the perfection of it to have been ſo great, that no alteration at that time could, or perhaps durſt be made in it.

Next, in relation to man; we have ſeen that Adam was created in ſuch perfection in the faculties of his ſoul and in the organs of his body, that as that part of his happineſs which conſiſted in his dominion over his fellow-creatures required the immediate uſe of the former, ſo his neceſſary converſe with thoſe of his own ſpecies, as we find it actually did, as immediately required the practice of the latter. By this it will appear, that Adam's language being one of his created perfections, we cannot but reckon it to have been ſo accompliſhed, even to grammatical niceties, that there was no need to change or alter it, 'till God was pleaſed, in as extraordinary a way as it was infuſed, to put a period to it.

But to what has been above ſaid, I muſt needs add theſe obſervations. Firſt, That taking the firſt chapter of Geneſis in the literal ſenſe, it will ſeem ſufficiently plain from thence, that God himſelf was the firſt author of language; for we find God uſing there a ſcheme of words (which is language) to expreſs the ideas of the divine mind, in the works of the creation, before Adam had a being; and ſoon after we find the Serpent alſo, to our ſorrow, too ſkilful in it, who ſurely learned it not of Adam. Secondly, In that which we may call the language of God, as to the quality and uſe of it, we may obſerve him to make uſe

of general terms to expreſs abſtract ideas, together with what they call mixed modes and nominal eſſences, even before Adam was created, which yet * ſome would fain make to be the meer creatures of human underſtanding; which, ſtrictly taken, cannot be true, ſince God uſed them before man was created. Thirdly, We may obſerve that it will hence follow, that Adam learned this language of God, or what is the ſame thing, was inſpired with it at the inſtant of his creation, or at leaſt with a general idea of it and the way of uſing it. Fourthly, Obſerving how the perfection of language conſiſts chiefly in applying conſtantly and invariably the ſame words to the ſame ideas, as beſt ſerving the real ends of truth and knowledge, we may hence conclude, that Adam, as prince of mankind, had authority enough to eſtabliſh the preciſe ſignification of words, and to command the ſtrict obſervance of that rule of ſpeaking to all his poſterity; which muſt needs preſerve the language he tranſmitted to them entire and unaltered, till it met with that fatal change and confuſion at Babel. Fifthly and Laſtly, We may obſerve, that it is no more difficult to conceive how Adam was inſpired with that one language, which I may call *ſacred*, becauſe coming from God, than it is that the apoſtles were enabled in an inſtant to ſpeak ſo effectually in ſtrange ones, whereof they knew not before perhaps one ſyllable, till their minds were divinely warmed and faſhioned in a ſurpriſing manner to the uſe and practice of them. In ſhort, as God accommodated theſe holy men with ready ſignificant words to expreſs their thoughts, as occaſion required, in untaught languages; ſo it is as probable that Adam was ſupernaturally aſſiſted by the like divine energy to form new words, and give them their ſteady peculiar ſignifications, as he grew more acquainted with things, and as a greater variety of objects in the courſe of his life made themſelves preſent to his underſtanding; for the holy ſcripture is poſitive for the one, though ſilent in the other.

SECONDLY, If we conſider the condition of the men that propagated and made uſe of this firſt language, we find them of very long lives; and though they might encreaſe to a vaſt number on the face of the earth, yet, were there no other reaſon for it, men living ſo long, that three or four ages made up the whole interval or ſpace of time from the creation to the confuſion of this original tongue, may be well preſumed to have preſerved it entire, and to have ſecured it from any corruption or failure.

* Lock's Eſſay, Book III. Chap. 4, 5, and 6.

THIRDLY,

THIRDLY, The words and names of that ante-diluvian language, what remain of them upon record, ſhew that from the time of Adam it was one and the ſame language with that which was broken and diſſipated at Babel: of which having * before given ſome account, I ſhall now on this head forbear to ſay any thing further.

The ſecond queſtion ariſing from the firſt propoſition is, What that firſt language was, which I have endeavoured to prove was preſerved entire, until it came to be confounded and diverſified at Babel? The critics upon this queſtion are ſufficiently divided in their opinions. Grotius, and ſome other authors, have pretended that this firſt language was quite loſt in the confuſion; and would fain make it out, that Moſes had changed the ancient names, the etymology of which is ſet down in Hebrew ones, in his book of Geneſis. But the grounds theſe gentlemen go upon, have ſo very little foundation in hiſtory or criticiſm, that they deſerve not to be inſiſted upon.

The Jews affirm their own language, the Hebrew, to have been the firſt tongue in the world, and are not wanting in giving good reaſons for it. The Syrians give this prerogative to the Chaldee or Syriac tongue; and they pretend to prove it, becauſe their tongue ſeems not only to be the moſt natural of all tongues, but alſo becauſe Abraham, the father of the Jews, was a Chaldean; and that Laban in Geneſis ſpake Chaldee or Syriac. On the other hand, the Arabians pretend the Arabic was before all other languages; and the Cophthes, the Æthiopians, and the Armenians diſpute for their languages. Nay, Goropius Becanus would have it to be the Almain or Dutch; becauſe he found the etymology of ſome ſcripture names and words accountable for in his language. So uncertain it is in hiſtory, which language, after the confuſion, it was, that was one and the ſame with the ante-diluvian tongue.

It is indeed the general opinion that the houſe and family of Heber, being not joined in the curſed attempt at Babel, eſcaped the malediction, and preſerved their language; and that from his name, to diſtinguiſh it from others that were then every where ſtarting up out of the ruins of the old one, the tongue he uſed was called Hebrew. But whether his language eſcaped ſo free from the taint of that confuſion, as to have preſerved itſelf entire, and to have ſuffered nothing by it, is very hard to determine.

* See ſecond Eſſay, Propoſition 2.

There is another opinion, and that too favoured by the Septuagint, that the language of the Jews was called Hebrew, from a word in the tongue, Hoberi, which ſignifies *men on the other ſide*, that is, from the other ſide of Euphrates, as if the word denoted only thoſe who had paſſed this river. But, in my opinion, Father Simon, of the oratory at Paris, has ſufficiently detected the vanity of that ſurmiſe, by ſhewing by right grammatical conſtruction, that if the name had accrued to the Jews and their language on that account, they ſhould have been called Hobri, and their language, Hobrew. Grammatical analogy will rather have the word Hebrew to come from * Heber, as the moſt ancient and generally entertained opinion among the Jews makes it to have been; eſpecially ſince Heber's family was ſo very conſiderable at the time of the confuſion, and remarkable for having abſtained from concurring with the reſt in that wicked enterpriſe, that his name was more likely to denominate the purer remains of that original language, than this pretended ſituation of a place and the neighbourhood of a river.

But however theſe things were, we find this Hebrew language, even juſt after the confuſion, to have been the common ſpeech of all Syria and Paleſtine, and other countries from Babylon to the Mediterranean ſea; and even taken up by the poſterity of Ham in all thoſe countries: Who having loſt it in the confuſion, might probably by their intercourſe with the family of Heber, reſume it again and make it their own, with ſuch alterations as gave riſe to the Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, and other ancient tongues, in thoſe countries, which differ very little from it. So that it is moſt probable the poſterity both of Ham and Japheth, who continued in thoſe near and bordering regions, made uſe of that language that afterward went generally under the name of Hebrew. For in the prophecy of Iſaiah, the Hebrew tongue, as Mr. Brerewood obſerves, is called the † Language of Canaan; and the Septuagint tranſlate theſe words [‡ the kings of Canaan] the kings of Phœnicia or Paleſtine, which were the countries of the poſterity of Ham and Japheth. And it is obſerved alſo by Bochart, a man very well ſkilled in thoſe languages, that the Hebrew tongue, in which the holy ſcriptures are written, is much the ſame with the old Phœnician: And on this reaſon I took up ſome Chaldee, Syriac and Arabic words in this Comparative Table under the title of Hebrew, when I found the derivatives to come up with them to a near congruity in ſound and ſignification.

* Abraham, the ſixth from Heber, is called the Hebrew, Gen. xiv. 13.
† Iſaiah xix. 18. ‡ Joſhua v. 1.

The

The third queſtion under this Propoſition is, At what time this confuſion of the firſt language happened, and if Noah was then alive? To give ſome ſolution to this difficulty; as to the firſt part of the queſtion, wherein the ſentiments of chronologers and hiſtorians extremely vary, We are, Firſt, In order to fix this time, to take what circumſtantial evidence the expreſs words of ſcripture (for no poſitive certainty therein appears) afford, to guide us in determining this particular. Secondly, We are to allow the approved teſtimonies of the moſt ancient hiſtoriographers ſeconding the ſaid determination. And, Thirdly, We muſt take in alſo the conſideration of the ſtate and condition of nature, requiſite thereunto, as the material cauſe and ſubject of this effect.

FIRST, As to the evidence of ſcripture; it does not nicely determine the time, as to year, month, or day, as it does in other great events, but only limits it to the days of Peleg. For Moſes expreſly ſays, "that in Peleg's days the earth was divided," Gen. x. 25. Now ſome authors, particularly * Mr. Sheringham would have this diviſion of the earth, which happened in the days of Peleg, to have been long before the diſperſion at Babel; and that that diſperſion was after Noah's death. *Ego verò* (ſaith he) *Ædificium Babylonicum non niſi poſt obitum Noachi extrui cœptum arbitror.* But this is *gratis dictum*; rather ſaid, than ſufficiently proved; there being not one ſyllable in ſcripture, nor any good warrant from the nature of the thing, to favour this poſition.

For as to ſcripture, it plainly avouches the contrary. For juſt on the commencement of this confuſion, to which the diſperſion of the people and the diviſion of the earth were conſequents, it is mentioned that God ſaid, "Behold, the people is one and the language one," Gen. xi. 6. Which ſufficiently proves, that the people being one, were not then divided, neither after their tongues, after their families, nor in their nations; although this diviſion or diſperſion be proleptically mentioned by Moſes in the foregoing chapter. Neither will this opinion, viz. that the diviſion taken notice of in the tenth of Geneſis, was long before the diſperſion at Babel, mentioned in the following chapter, find any better patronage from reaſon and the nature of the thing; tho' a great deal that way is pretended to. For how could Noah, to whom this act of dividing the earth is attributed, or indeed any other perſon at that time, when they kept together as one people and as one family, be reaſonably ſuppoſed capable of aſſigning and determining ſuch and

* *Lib. de origine Gentis Anglorum*, p. 436.

ſuch

ſuch parts and portions of the earth to be poſſeſſed and inhabited by ſuch and ſuch people, before they had knowledge of thoſe parts and regions, ſome of them expreſly and by name, ſo diſtant from them as, for inſtance, the iſles of the Gentiles were? And if it be urged herein, that Noah or his ſons might have preſerved a plan, or retained an idea in their head, of the geography of the ante-diluvian earth; yet it ought to be conſidered that the great devaſtation the univerſal bulk of water at the deluge had wrought on the face of the earth, which they were then to re-people, and the great changes and alterations of ſea and land, which in many places are now found, and probably found by them then, to have been the effects and conſequences of that devaſtation, muſt have been a bar (naturally ſpeaking) to ſuch a procedure, and continue ſo, until the diſperſion at Babel neceſſitated them to ſeek new regions. And then indeed from new diſcoveries the authority of Noah, their ſole monarch, might well exert itſelf in dividing the earth, and aſſigning to theſe families, mentioned in the tenth of Geneſis, their ſeveral portions of land, to be poſſeſſed and cultivated by them, according to their tongues, according to their kindred, and in their nations.

Secondly, The joint conſent of ancient hiſtoriographers and chronologers gives authority to affirm Nimrod, the grandſon of Ham, to have been the founder of Babel, purſuant to the expreſs words of Moſes, "that the beginning of Nimrod's kingdom was Babel," Gen. x. 10. So that his name implying rebellion againſt the ordinance of God, and his character of a *mighty hunter* before the Lord denoting alſo uſurping tyranny over men, we may from thence ſafely conclude him the author or chief promoter of that wicked attempt againſt heaven; which provoked God to quaſh the enterprize, and to puniſh it with the confuſion of the firſt language; and thereby with the diſperſion of that infatuated mis-led people he had drawn together, and encouraged to ſhare with him in that proud, profane, rebellious undertaking. "Let us build us a city and a tower, whoſe top may reach unto heaven; and let us make us a name, that we be not ſcattered abroad upon the face of the earth." Gen. xi. 4.

It ſeems that generation of mankind had an intimation given them, either by Noah or by God himſelf, to divide and ſeparate in order to inhabit the whole earth; which this rebellious * Nimrod, the prime leader of reſiſtance, and the great hunter after empire, ſtrenuouſly

* Vide Joſeph. Hiſt. Jud. lib. i. c. 4.

withſtood;

withſtood; and on the enſnaring maxims of ſelf-preſervation and public ſafety, prevailed with the greateſt part of mankind to take that pernicious courſe, which yet, by the over-ruling wiſdom of Providence, directly led them to what, by their own wretched forecaſt, they thought to avoid. They had heard the next deſtruction threatened was to be by fire; and therefore a prodigious mole of brick-work was deſigned (as fire-proof) to ſecure their ſafety, or at leaſt to give them a name: the latter indeed it did, for the whole ended in confuſion, and the name it had was Babel; and therefore the holy penman, accounting for this Nimrod, very appoſitely ſays, "and the beginning of his kingdom was Babel."

Now whether this Nimrod in ſcripture be the ſame with Belus, whom the ancient writers of hiſtory mention to have been the founder of the Babylonian monarchy, is not ſo eaſily determined; though many take theſe two names to import one and the ſame perſon, and that Belus or Baal was only a title or attribute ſignifying *lord* or *tyrant*. Yet if the pretended epitaph on Ninus's tomb, mentioned by Xenophon, deſerves any credit, they were two perſons, father and ſon; but the chronology related to be in that inſcription being egregiouſly falſe, the whole is juſtly rejected as counterfeit.

However that was, the ſcripture is expreſs, that the diviſion of the earth was in the days of Peleg, and the diſperſion of people and their ſeparation began at Babel during the reign or tyranny of Nimrod, for *that* is ſaid to have been the beginning of his kingdom. Now Nimrod being the third in deſcent from Ham; and Peleg, according to the Hebrew text, the fourth (or if we take Cainan in, according to St. Luke and the Seventy's computation, then he is) the fifth in deſcent from Sem. Whence it appears, that the confuſion happened under the reign of Nimrod, and that the actual diſperſion was in the days of Peleg, the younger of the two in deſcent, and probably in age, tho' by reaſon of their long lives they were contemporary; it will conſequently follow, that this diſperſion of people preceded, or at leaſt was much about the ſame time with, the actual diviſion of the earth, namely, at Babel.

Some of the fathers of the Chriſtian church, I confeſs, aſcribe the confuſion and diviſion here accounted for, to the beginning of Peleg's days, or to the time of his birth, which was Anno 101, poſt diluvium, alluding to the import of his name, as if given him in memory of that act. But that, as I ſhall preſently ſhew, could not conveniently be;

for

for it is not ſaid, "at the birth," or "in the beginning of," but "in the days of Peleg, the earth was divided;" whereby we have a greater latitude left us to fix the date of the diviſion.

Nimrod, by conſent of all ancient chronologers, began his reign about the year 170 after the flood, arrived to the height of his tyranny at about fourteen years after, viz. Anno 184, poſt diluvium, and died Anno 249, poſt diluv. So likewiſe Peleg, by the ſcripture account, being born Anno 101, poſt diluv. his days continued by the ſame account to Anno 340, poſt diluv. So that here by theſe accounts, the reign of Nimrod and the days of Peleg being marks or ſtandards given us to fix and determine the date of this grand affair, we muſt take them together to adjuſt this matter; and thereby it will with the greateſt probability appear, that it happened about the year 240, after the flood; when Nimrod was at the height of his tyranny, about nine years before his death; and when Peleg was about the hundred and thirty-ninth of his age. So that both the facts of confuſion and diviſion come up with great agreement to what the ſcripture expreſly ſays of the one, viz. "that the beginning of his kingdom was Babel;" and of the other, "that the diviſion was in the days of Peleg," which is an intimation not to be neglected, and comes pretty nicely to determine this point.

THIRDLY, The conſideration alſo of the ſtate and condition of nature, that is, at what time the increaſe and multiplication of mankind was capable of this diviſion of people into ſo many principalities and nations, as are recorded in the tenth chapter of Geneſis, will greatly conduce to a right determination of this matter. Here the opinion of thoſe who aſſign the time of this diviſion (if they mean actual diviſion, i. e. when they were really and actually divided) to the birth of Peleg, which was Anno 101, poſt diluv. ſeems to be quite overthrown by the very Moſaic accounts. For we are to obſerve, that Moſes reckons in that diviſion of families no leſs than ſeventy-two princes or heads of people; and ſurely we muſt allow them at leaſt an equal number of females for wives, and a few children alſo before they could be families; which muſt amount to a greater number of ſouls than the propagation of mankind out of * three pairs could afford in the ſpace of an hundred and one years. For if we grant every male and female, in the firſt poſt-diluvian century, to beget eight children (one with another) by the time they arrived to the age of forty years; we ſhall find by the

* Noah cannot be ſuppoſed to have begot any children after the flood, for his wife was then too old; and it is not to be imagined that, after her deceaſe, he married any of his own offspring.

rule of arithmetical progreſſion, that allowing the firſt ten years of that century for Shem, Ham, and Japheth (and of them the whole earth was overſpread, Gen. ix. 19.) to beget twenty-four children or twelve pairs of people; and forty years more, for theſe twelve pairs, to beget ninety-ſix children or forty-eight pairs; and forty years more, for theſe forty-eight pairs, to beget three hundred and eighty-four children, male and female; which is juſt ninety years after the deluge; it follows that the whole number of ſouls (ſuppoſing the number of males and females equal, and none to have died) at the year 101, when Peleg was born, could amount to no more than five hundred and twelve perſons, with children under eleven years old—ſurely too inconſiderable a number for ſo great an affair, as the dividing of the whole earth, erecting a kingdom, building a tower, whoſe top was to reach heaven, with all the pompous enumeration of ſo many tongues, families, and nations, as appear in the tenth of Geneſis, was to have been; far ſurpaſſing the capacity of ſo ſmall a number.

But let us proceed with this calculation of an eight-fold encreaſe of mankind at every forty years period, and we ſhall find that at the year 240, after the flood, the encreaſe of mankind ſwelled to a number ſufficiently proportionable to that work; the ſum whereof, collectively taken, amounted to upwards of thirty-two thouſand eight hundred and thirty-two ſouls. And when withal, we take into conſideration, the ſpontaneous fœcundity of the earth at that time in producing ſuſtenance to man without much toil and labour, the vigorous healthy conſtitution of men, their long lives, the long continued fruitfulneſs and teeming condition of their women, the allowance of polygamy (their great and moſt neceſſary work at that time, as well as the command of God unto them, being to encreaſe and multiply:) All this conſidered, it may be well ſuppoſed that in their laſt hundred and forty years, they encreaſed in much greater proportion; for when their ſtock of people was grown numerous, the multiplication went on faſter, on account of their longævity and their allowed polygamy; and the cognation and proximity of blood (which at firſt was ſome obſtacle in the courſe of generation) being then grown wider and remoter, therefore I think on the ſaid ſuppoſition, it will be eaſily granted that their real number, at the year 240, was much greater than I have reckoned; eſpecially if the number of females exceeded the males, which as a reaſonable ſurpluſage may come in, not only to ſupply the number of thoſe that died from the deluge to that time, but alſo to enhance by ſome thouſands

more the eſtimate I have here made of them at the diſperſion of Babel. So to conclude this Propoſition, we find that the reign of Nimrod and the days of Peleg are the beſt marks we have to determine this queſtion; which induced me to eſtabliſh the date of this affair in or about Anno 240, *poſt diluv.* a little before the death of the one, and about the middle of the days of the other. At which time mankind was ſufficiently numerous to become capable of being the ſubject of that great work; after which time, viz. 240, the holy ſcripture is poſitive (to prove the latter part of this queſtion) that Noah lived a hundred and ten years. And if this computation ſhould be looked upon as not ſatisfactory; I ſhall only add, that it is allowed by all on very good grounds, that Abraham was born after this diſperſion; and being born, as the expreſs chronology of Moſes has it, in the ſeventieth year of the age of Terah, which by that chronology was the two hundred and ninety-ſecond year after the deluge; (for as to the ſixty years more that are by ſome added to the age of Terah before Abraham was born, there is no ſufficient warrant in ſcripture for it, and what is produced for it from Acts vii. 4. is otherwiſe to be accounted for) I ſhall therefore conclude, that Noah living three hundred and fifty years after the flood, Gen. ix. 28. muſt be contemporary with Abraham for the ſpace of fifty-eight years, and conſequently ſurvive the diſperſion at Babel, a great number of years, which is all I aim at and contend for in this particular.

PROPOSITION II.

Having hitherto ſhewed that the firſt way of ſpeaking was one entire language to the confuſion; and that that was what we call the Hebrew tongue: My ſecond propoſition is, That at the building of the tower of Babel, there happened among thoſe who were concerned in that daring enterprize a ceſſation, for ſome time at leaſt, and confuſion of that firſt language.

This muſt alſo be allowed by all who own the authority of the holy ſcriptures; for Moſes there expreſly ſays, that God confounded their language, that men could not underſtand one another's talk, as you will find, Gen. xi. 6, 9.

Under this propoſition, I ſhall conſider, Firſt, What this ceſſation or confuſion of the firſt language was. Secondly, What influence it had upon, and how far it effected the ſeparation and diſperſion of people over the face of the whole earth; for that ſeems to have been the chief end and deſign of it, "Let us confound their language" (ſays

(ſays God) " that they may not underſtand one another;" ſo the Lord ſcattered them abroad upon the face of all the earth.

FIRST, What this confuſion was? It ſeems it was a puniſhment that the ſins of thoſe people were then ripe for. Unity of language, if joined with the ſincere worſhip of God, and with mutual benevolence and charity amongſt men, is a great bleſſing; but when it is uſed to affront and pervert thoſe ends, as it ſeems it then was, it becomes a curſe; and therefore God inflicted it upon theſe men, by dividing their communication, and ſending them away, one party from another, to the end that ſome at leaſt might be good, if the greater part of them would continue wicked and rebellious.

There is ſome diverſity of opinion about the act and manner of confounding this firſt language at Babel; but what is alledged on that particular may be ſorted under theſe two heads:

FIRST, Some take the word בלל *Balal*, by which this confuſion is there expreſſed, to ſignify, among thoſe builders, a mixing and changing the known ſenſe and meaning of ſome ſounds into the ſenſe and import of other ſounds, and thoſe into others again, and ſo through: As when ſome called for brick, others underſtood thereby and brought mortar; when they called for mortar, others again underſtood thereby and brought them gravel; and in this manner they conceive, that ſuch of thoſe people, as underſtood and had one and the ſame meaning of every ſound or word they heard, became in an inſtant men of one and the ſame language *.

Thus they account for this confuſion, and how thereupon the ſeveral † mother-tongues were made or framed by God in the minds of thoſe divided parties. But ſince it appears that one end of this confounding of their tongues was to deter them from a further proſecution of that work, methinks, this was not the way to put a ſtop to it. For in this caſe we muſt conceive, that either God inſpired a new language into every individual man, as he deprived him of the old one; or elſe gave this new-formed language to ſeparate parties or families of men. If the firſt, then indeed there was grown up a goodly ſtock of tongues, far better adapted for ſoliloquies, than for converſation and ſociety. If the ſecond be true, then it will follow that the end that God deſigned

* Confounding and mingling have very different ideas; in mingling, the form and properties of the things mingled are preſerved, but in confounding are all deſtroyed.

† Theſe mother-tongues ſome authors reckon to have been ſeventy-two in number, becauſe ſo many perſons or heads of families are mentioned in the tenth of Geneſis; of which mother-tongues, Scaliger reckons eleven (four principal and ſeven leſs principal) to have come to Europe.

to have been effected by it, that is, the putting a ſtop to that audacious attempt, might have been fruſtrated and defeated. For if God, in that grand extirpation of the old, immediately framed new languages in the mouths of ſo many parties of men; it was eaſy to foreſee, that by the combining and confederating together of theſe new-gifted parties, who well underſtood one another, and might thereby well manage their deſign, the work in hand might proſper and go on as before; and nothing that way could hinder it, but another confuſion, and perhaps another after that, and ſo on infinitely. Which procedure muſt needs be reckoned very abſurd, and therefore not likely to be the true matter of fact. And yet as incongruous, as when examined into, it ſeems to be, it is to this day the moſt generally entertained opinion, that God miraculouſly framed and put into the minds of men, at the confuſion, thoſe diverſified modes of ſpeaking, which are called by the name of mother-tongues; and which afterwards multiplied and improved themſelves into abundance of dialects, and thoſe at length into all the languages the world hath been acquainted with; though the holy ſcripture mentions not (which is very ſtrange if it had been true) one word of ſo great a miracle.

SECONDLY, Some others finding the grounds of this laſt opinion not ſtable enough, conceive otherwiſe of the matter. They allow a deletion (if not a total one, yet one in ſuch a meaſure as was enough to obſtruct the work) of the firſt language: They look upon that act of puniſhment which confounded it, to have been a ſort of extraordinary ſtupor or delirium, which God in his juſt indignation threw among that brainſick race of men, who impiouſly imagined, that with their mole-hill, in compariſon, they were able to defy and oppoſe heaven and all its menaces; when in an inſtant, the divine nemeſis ſo ſpread that ſtupifying evil among the multitude, that they were ſo far from being able to effect what they vainly undertook, that they had ſcarce a word to ſay or anſwer to one another. The memory, it ſeems, being by that ſtupor quite ſubverted, communication immediately ceaſed; the multitude diſſolved and diſſipated (that bond of communication which knit them together being broke) and the work was inſtantly laid aſide and abandoned.

This account of the matter, I confeſs, is very agreeable to God's deſign, and comes fully home to the end and purpoſe of it; and is the ſecond thing I deſign to treat of under this Propoſition: Therefore,

SECONDLY,

SECONDLY, As for the influence and force this puniſhment was to have in diſſipating and diſperſing theſe people; it ought here to be taken for granted (and indeed it is a maxim of undoubted truth) that an end propoſed, eſpecially by an all-wiſe and infinite agent, requires and will always infer that the means made uſe of to bring it to paſs be adequately ſuitable and effectual to it. And now in this caſe, ſince we find the means aſſerted by the patrons of the firſt opinion, on ſeveral accounts incompetent to that end and exceptionable, in being many ways liable to evade and defeat it, we cannot therefore allow it to be a true repreſentation of that affair, though the opinion that hands it to us be ever ſo general. Neither indeed can we look upon it as properly a puniſhment, if in that act, God only changed their old language for a number of new ones. And if it be by ſome rather thought he did ſo, ſuch as think ſo ſhould conſider, whether it be any way agreeable to the divine wiſdom, who works every thing perfectly, to be the author of ſuch rude, mean, imperfect gibberiſhes, as the firſt languages after the diſperſion are known to have been; and alſo, if the mother-tongues at their firſt coming abroad had been tolerably accurate and expreſſive, as ſurely they would have been, had they (as is pretended) come immediately from the hands of God, what need would there have been of borrowing and begging one of another, and of all the labour that has been afterwards ſpent in improving, augmenting and poliſhing them, to make them uſeful?

But on the other ſide, if we look upon this overture as a great and ſignal vengeance inflicted on the impiety of thoſe men, and on their language which was inſtrumental to it, God as it were with one blow daſhing their whole enterprize, by ſtriking every man of them dumb, and probably for ſome time deaf alſo, as the word שמע in the text ſeems to intimate, viz. And God confounded their language that they *heard* not one another; for *that* is the propriety of the word; conſidering this, I ſay, we have great reaſon to apprehend, that the amazement and terror accompanying that act, next to ſtriking them dead upon the ſpot, muſt carry the greateſt and moſt irreſiſtable influence with it, upon the fears and paſſions of thoſe men, diſpoſing them to deſiſt from ſo dangerous and miſchievous an attempt. And when they found their memory, as to words and their former habits of ſpeaking, quite gone, defaced and ruined, nature itſelf, with the help of what reaſon and judgment remained in them, beſides the effects of that fright and conſternation, muſt be acknowledged alſo to be of ſome force

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to make them withdraw and divide themſelves into ſeparate bands and companies.

For when this inflicted damp and terror was over, and their retained reaſon began to clear up and diſplay itſelf, we may well imagine their inward thoughts, wanting their accuſtomed former vents, began to glow and burn within them, puſhing them to form new ſounds, and to tack and faſten them to ſuch ideas as every minute called for and wanted their aſſiſtance; which tacking of ſounds to ideas, and ideas to things, is properly the ground-work of all languages.

This work was of great conſequence, and muſt be ſpeedily attempted; and they could not but by a few trials find it as feaſible as it was neceſſary, having their faculties and organs prompt and ready for it. But for all that it was not to be done in a multitude, where a few ſettled ſounds would be ſoon loſt, before any current ſtamp could be fixed upon them. Hence will appear by this latter opinion, which the former indeed is wide of, how the divine terror of this act, and alſo the direct and natural reſult of it became a cauſe to make that vaſt innumerable concourſe of people break up, and oblige them to retire and divide into little communities; where, and in which circumſtance only, they could be in a way to repair their loſs, and to refit themſelves for future converſe: Which people could ſcarce, if at all, bring to paſs in great aſſemblies and extended multitudes; it being the work of that art which never admits of too many heads or hands, but of united ſkill, induſtry and diligence to lay down the ground-work of a new-formed language.

Thus I take it almighty Providence moſt benignly adapted the puniſhment of this people to their future advantage; and moſt wiſely contrived, by taking away their firſt language, to make *that* a means of dividing themſelves into great numbers of communities and governments; and *that* of forming new languages; and that too of cementing them together into nations, in order to diſperſe them over the face of the earth. And if God had not taken away the old, or when he had done ſo, had himſelf framed and inſpired new languages into them, as many are of opinion he did; I much doubt whether that diſperſion could have been ſo readily and conveniently effected (naturally ſpeaking) as in the method herein explained we preſume it was.

Proposition III.

Having ſhewed under the foregoing Propoſition, that the confuſion of the firſt language, therein briefly accounted for, had in its effects,

as well a natural as a moral efficacy to break up that impious assembly, and divide them into many associated bands and companies, in order to dispersе them far and wide to colonize the face of the earth; it appears from thence that God seemed to look upon that one first language to be a great impediment to it, and therefore confounded it; and made men, by the consequences of that confusion, retire and withdraw themselves to recover their lost speech. And these men having so separated and * divided themselves, it was also natural for them to seek out new habitations; which is what I take to be meant by dispersion, and comes here to be made use of under the force of a Proposition; because the scripture, whose testimony amounts to the highest force of evidence, expressly affirms (event also visibly seconding it) that God came down, confounded their language, and scattered them abroad upon the face of the earth, Gen. xi. 7, 8. Upon which Proposition I shall proceed very briefly with these following particulars.

FIRST, Before we come to the detail of this Proposition, we may in general conceive that these people who were thus divided, confederated themselves, to the end mentioned, in kindreds and families; and of these some immediately removed and took their progress, as they encreased and multiplied, into far countries, India, China, Tartary, &c. and in their way thither propagated many nations and languages; and some others fixed their abodes in regions near adjoining to the place of their dispersion.

These latter, in that first and most important work of composing and framing words to utter their minds, and to convey their conceptions to one another, we may well presume, were very much relieved and assisted by their neighbours, the house and family of Heber; at whose shining lamp these unhappy men might by their permission and favour soon rekindle their extinguished torches, and by recollecting also what their broken and harrassed memory would afford, recover many words of their lost language, and perhaps by that means come to raise and model their new forms of speech upon the recovered ruins of it.

And this I take to be the only or chief reason of the appearing of so many Hebrew words in the tongues of those people who descended out of such as had made their first settlements in those adjoining countries about Syria and Babylon; which was the case with many of the nations of Europe, and particularly our own. And upon this ac-

* Gen. x. 32.

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count I hope it will appear, that it was with good reaſon and upon warrantable grounds, that I endeavoured and undertook in theſe Eſſays to trace the origin, and deduce the ancient names and characters of many of our ſuperannuated rites and performances of religion in the weſtern part of Europe, from the language and cuſtoms of that age and people; eſpecially ſince even to this day we have ſo many plain unforced words of that primitive tongue among us, as the preceding table diſcovers, that it cannot with any ſhew of reaſon be doubted, but that the ancient language (what name ſoever we give it) out of which the Gauliſh or Britiſh tongue was derived, was one of thoſe I now mentioned, which took their riſe from, and built their ſtructures upon, the remains of that moſt ancient Hebrew tongue.

SECONDLY, It being now ſhewed that many of the Aſian tongues, viz. the Armenian, Chaldee, Syriac, Arabic, *&c.* borrowed or derived ſo much of this ancient Hebrew, that in their primitive words and radicals they are almoſt the ſame with it; we are next to conſider that among thoſe languages which, by the favour of Heber and his family, took into them ſo great variety of Hebrew ſounds, the languages of the ſons of Japheth, at leaſt thoſe of Gomer and Javan, which gave riſe to the old Celtic that was the mother of moſt of the ancient tongues of Europe, have participated in a great meaſure of that advantage of borrowing from the language of Heber: Which conſideration may ſuperſede the wonder we uſually are at, to find even to this day ſo great a number of genuine Hebrew words in the Greek, Latin, Teutonic, and Britiſh tongues; and thoſe (ſome of them) the very ſame; and others ſo very little diſguiſed and altered, abating what is uſual in pronouncing the words of one language in another, that I flatter myſelf into a belief that no impartial man will ever doubt of it, or ſuſpect their coming from any other origin.

Nay more; their being the ſame, as many of them are, with the known Hebrew words that are of one ſignification with them, (except what is already excepted) is to me an irrefragable proof, that they did, and could not indeed but, come from that origin; it being next to impoſſible that ſo many words as the foregoing table preſents to our view, could ever by chance meet in one and the ſame ſound and ſignification. And no other cauſe of ſuch coincidence offering itſelf, it is therefore an apparent evidence that theſe languages I account for muſt on the reaſon I mention proceed and be derived from one and the ſame fountain-head, the ancient Hebrew tongue.

Now

Now in order to give the reaſon of this procedure a little more weight, the reader will pardon me here a ſmall digreſſion. To that end, he will pleaſe to conſider that as Noah was at the time of this diſperſion the *father* of all mankind, excepting his own and his ſons' wives, if then living;—for we are pretty well aſſured that Noah and his ſon Shem lived then and many years after it—ſo he was their chief monarch to direct them in the way of polity and government; and their chief prieſt and prophet to inſtruct them in the true worſhip of God, and in the way of religion. And indeed, as to both theſe capacities and his actings in them, there are ſome remains of antiquity that inform us, that Noah laid down rules, as eſtabliſhed laws, to his poſterity, which go under the name of *Mitzoth bene Noach*, viz. "The ſtatutes of the ſons of Noah;" becauſe delivered to them for moral, political and theological rules to conform themſelves unto, and to be made uſe of by their poſterity, as certain ſtandards of juſtice and piety; on which account I take it, it was that St. Peter calls him a Preacher of Righteouſneſs, 2 Pet. ii. v. that is, a propounder of good and righteous laws among his poſterity.

Theſe laws in all probability were the ſum or an abſtract of thoſe that were given by God to Adam at the creation; and which continued after in the church of God to the time of Abraham. For ſurely ſome laws they had which were promulged to them (for where there is no law there can be no ſin) during the time of the patriarchal oeconomy; which was at an end in the time of Abraham, when circumciſion and other new laws were added and had a new force and ſanction ſealed upon them. And indeed to theſe, or ſuch as theſe, God himſelf ſeems to have reference, when he bleſſed Abraham: And for a reaſon of that bleſſing, God ſays, "Becauſe Abraham obeyed my voice;" which undoubtedly referred to his willingneſs to offer his ſon Iſaac; then adds, "And kept my charge, my commandments, my ſtatutes, and my laws," Gen. xxvi. 5. Now what theſe commandments, ſtatutes and laws, which God here calls his own, were, we muſt be far to ſeek, if they be not theſe I now mention; the heads whereof you have in the margin of the following page.

They were ſeven in number.

1. *De cavendâ Idololatriâ.*
2. *De maledictione Numinis.*
3. *De ſanguinis Effuſione.*
4. *De non revelanda turpitudine.*
5. *De Rapinâ & Furto.*
6. *De Judiciis.*
7. *De membro Animalis vivi non comedendo.*

Theſe patriarchal laws I have had frequent occaſion to mention in the foregoing Eſſays.

I have been the more particular in this account of Noah's being in the public capacities of father, prince, prieſt and prophet, in relation to all mankind at the time of this diſperſion, that the reader may thereby ſee what a fair way, upon a ſuppoſal of a total deletion of the firſt language, excepting in the houſe and family of Heber, was opened under theſe peculiar circumſtances to many neighbouring families to recover by their intercourſe with this what they had loſt in their own.

For, Firſt, I have before ſhewed how it is generally preſumed that Heber and all his family preſerved their language; Secondly, Noah being then alive muſt be ſuppoſed to be one, nay the head, of that family; and, Thirdly, If ſo, we may well preſume that many of that diſperſing multitude, out of filial piety reſorted to Noah to bewail their misfortune, and to receive his commands and inſtructions. And how could this be done but in his own language? And how could they be the better for his fatherly inſtructions and documents, which undoubtedly he took care to inculcate upon them, but by their learning *that* language by their frequent reſort to that family in which he reſided? This is to me a plain caſe, that a great deal of the firſt language was ſoon again recovered, at leaſt by Heber's neareſt neighbours. And of that number ſome of the ſons of Japheth, particularly Gomer and Javan, might very probably be: And on that account may be reckoned, not only to have carried with them a vaſtly greater ſtock of Hebrew words than I have ſhewed in this table, (great allowance being to be made for what was ſince loſt in the multiplying of dialects) but alſo more eſpecially that they carried with them the ſchemes and forms of worſhip, practiſed in thoſe days; and with theſe, the original names and characters of many of them. Which conſideration alone will, I hope, ſufficiently anſwer for my deducing our ancient Druidical rites of worſhip and other appurtenances of religion (we being proved to be the deſcendants of Gomer) from the very rites and uſages the ſaid Gomer then

then received and practiſed; and ſo were by him carefully conſigned over and delivered to his poſterity.

THIRDLY, To come now to particulars: This act of diſperſion now beginning to exert itſelf, we find the united tribes and families, having got them new ways of ſpeaking, and thereby eſtabliſhing to themſelves forms and plans of government, betook themſelves into various parts and quarters of the world, under ſeveral heads and rulers, whom they then or ſoon after called kings and princes. The particulars whereof you will find recorded by way of anticipation, as many of the Moſaic accounts are, in the tenth chapter of Geneſis; where the diviſions of the firſt poſt diluvian families are noted and diſtinguiſhed, every one according to their tongues, according to their families, and in their nations. And there too, to come to the ſubject of my enquiry, we find the ſons of Japheth to have taken to their allotments the iſles of the Gentiles, which are reckoned by all authors to be Europe and the maritime parts of Aſia.

Now among the ſons of Japheth, it is generally allowed (and there are great authorities for it) that Gomer was the founder of that nation out of whom the Gauls and Britons deſcended. But to trace the progreſſion of that people, whom authors call *Gomaritæ* and their tongue *Gomarian*, to theſe parts of Europe, has been a taſk that puzzled all antiquity, till the great learning, indefatigable labour, and extraordinary judgment of the late ever celebrated perſon, Monſieur Pezron, D. D. abbot of La Charmoye in France, diſcovered ſuch tracks and footſteps of it, even through the remoteſt times, that to me his accounts ſeem liable to ſo few exceptions, that I ſee not how any one can but acquieſce in them; abating one error, as I take it, or rather omiſſion, that runs through the whole file of his diſquiſitions—and that is, his making no diſtinction between the firſt * planting age, wherein people were only bent on procreation (polygamy for that end being allowed) and were chiefly employed in clearing and cultivating the face of the earth, and ſending colonies far and wide to poſſeſs and inhabit it; and the buſtling warlike age, if I may ſo call it, that ſucceeded that firſt one, wherein ambition and deſire of ſovereignty and empire had room and opportunity from the then great increaſe of mankind to exert and diſplay itſelf; people in their firſt peragrations being buſied and wholly taken up with toil and induſtry, the earth and richeſt countries

* *Ætas Aurea, apud Antiquos.*

of it by that time being an overgrown wilderneſs, and nothing in their paſſing onwards to be conteſted with but rivers, mountains, woods, and wild beaſts. Thus I conceived, and this I have ſet down in the preceding Eſſays; that the progeny of Japheth, viz. ſome of theſe Gomarians at the firſt diſperſion began to move weſtward; and the firſt ſwarms of them, the Heneti (the moſt ancient colonies or firſt planters, as the word *Hen* imports, and which gives ſome hint of their language) might arrive in Europe, and ſo come to Germany, Gaul and Britain, even before the *ruffling* age began, wherein the learned Pezron places the æra and firſt date of his accounts, &c. And indeed he owns as much, by his repreſenting moſt of his Titan expeditions, rather as conquering than colonizing and planting. Nay, the very ſtate and condition of nature at that time ſpeak as much; and theſe circumſtances of the ſtate of nature and condition of things, in computing the progreſſion of mankind, are to be conſulted, as well as, if not more than the ſhort hints which the uncertain tradition of the next tumultuous age delivered over to the records of future times, which all know to have been very fabulous and erroneous. Yet for all this, an univerſal conſent and tradition among a people, ſhewing out of what ſtock they deſcended, may be well depended on, though hiſtory may fail in accounting for the way and manner of that progreſſion.

This learned Briton, in his lately publiſhed book of the Antiquities of Nations, obſerves from the earlieſt hints of hiſtory that thoſe mentioned Gomarians ſeated themſelves in the provinces between Media and the Caſpian ſea, that is, in Hircania, Margiana, and Bactriana; and that they were the anceſtors of the Gauls; and by reaſon of their diſpoſſeſſing the former inhabitants, the Medes, they have had by thoſe expelled people, the name of *Sacæ* given them, that is, *pillagers* and *robbers*; and theſe, in compenſation for that, gave the Medes or the men they drove out the name of *Parthians*, from the Celtic word *Parthu*, viz. to *divide* and *ſeparate*. Here the Gomarians take the name of Sacæ or Sac's, and their language from this time came for a while to be called Sacick; and a branch of theſe, mixing with the Teutons, came in proceſs of time to be called Saxons; which is the reaſon that ſo many Engliſh words in this table do favour of the original tongue, (which I have ſhewed before had a great deal of it in the Gomarian family) and have their place in the ſaid table.

The author further ſhews, how a great colony of theſe Sac's made an irruption under one Achmon their prince into Cappadocia, and other

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parts of Lower Asia, bordering on the Euxine sea; and after that another colony of them made incursions to the North part of Asia, and over to Europe by the Palus Mæotidis, who took on them the name of Cimbrians or Cimmerians, and their language from Tuisco their leader came to be called Teutonic. Hence the agreement of many Teutonic words with the ancient Celtic. But that great colony that overspread a great part of Lower Asia, went under the name of Titans, from a Gaulish compound, *tud* earth, and *tan* or *tanu*, spreading, viz. an overspreading people; and from their invincible prowess they had, by way of character, the attribute of Celtæ or Galli, from Gallu or power, given to them; and thence their language was called Celtic or Gallic, as it has ever since continued to be, in the main branch of this people: For our calling it here British, is but by way of national distinction; it being one and the same, even to the time of Julius Cæsar, in Gaul and Britain, abating the diversity of idioms and dialects.

This great and warlike nation, now called Titans, having spread themselves over all the Lower Asia, even to the Mediterranean sea, began *there* to lay down the foundation of their vast empire, which by their succeeding princes, Achmon, Uranus, Saturn, Jupiter, Mercury, Mars, Dis, Hercules, *&c.* they extended over the greatest part of Europe; and these names being all Celtic, as you may see in the seventh section of the first Essay *, sufficiently prove their being of the same language with us. And when Uranus had passed the sea into Greece and Italy, in order to enlarge his conquest over these western parts of Europe, Dr. Pezron expressly says; "That all that could not be done without transporting colonies thither to manure the ground, and to keep the ancient inhabitants under subjection;" which evidently implies, as indeed the name of conquest will, which he frequently makes use of in his account of this Titan expedition, that the countries they subdued had been long before † inhabited. And so we see that history, on which he only relies, is defective in the point of our first planting; and beyond history what can we have but conjectures?

I cannot omit here one observation in relation to the first planting of Greece and Italy. We find on this side of the Mediterranean, in the very first ages history can inform us of, great variety of tongues and dialects; whereas on the Asian side, there appear to have been but few in number, but these largely extended. No other cause, I think, can be as-

* See note p. 42, 43. † Vide Pezr. Antiq. p. 102. & p. 129.

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signed

ſigned for this, but the abundance of iſles in that ſea, between Anatolia and Europe; whereunto thoſe religious vagrants being got, ſettled in them for ſome time; and thereby having but little commerce at firſt with one another, their common language might, by the different improvements they made in augmenting and poliſhing their way of ſpeaking, in every iſle by itſelf, be diverſified into numerous dialects; and they, or colonies from them, entring firſt into Greece and Italy, did likewiſe leave in thoſe countries laſting marks of that diverſity in the ſeveral idioms of them.

In the iſle of Creta, now Candia, one of the largeſt of them, we find they had a large colony, and ſeemed to have dedicated it, as they after did the Iſle of Mona with us, as a ſacred place to the uſe of religion. Here their prieſts and ſoothſayers reſided; whom (as we called ours Druids, probably from *Dir-wyr*, i. e. *moſt neceſſary men*, ſo) they called Κουρῆτας, *Curetes*, as probably from *Gwyr-rhaid*; both coming under one and the ſame ſignification, that is, *men of moſt neceſſary uſe and importance*, as prieſts and religioniſts in all ages were accounted to be. Theſe *Curetes* took care of what belonged to the rites of ſacrifice, and the worſhip of the gods. To theſe the care of the education of princes was entruſted; Jupiter being in his youth committed to their charge. They were in great reſpect with the Aborigines of Italy, where they were called *Salians*. They recorded, as the *Bards* with us, the heroic actions of princes in rhythmical compoſitions; which in Italy they called *Carmina Saliaria* or *Verſus Saturnii*, as Varro and Feſtus write. Whatever related to war, laws and religion, was moſtly contained in thoſe ſongs; which generally were of great difficulty to be underſtood by the Latins, becauſe, as Pezron obſerves, they contained in them many Celtic words. This being a place of learning in the earlieſt ages of the world, they called here their oldeſt inhabitants, Eteo-Cretans, who muſt be the firſt planters of the iſland before theſe Titans ever came into it.

Having brought this Gomarian, Sacic and Celtic tongue within the confines of Europe; we ſhall now ſhew what advances it made, and what mixtures it underwent, during the reign of theſe Titans, and after the diſſolution of their government.

FIRST, We may obſerve that theſe Titans lorded it over Europe, for a conſiderable time, during the reigns of five or ſix princes; and extended their empire to the furtheſt bounds of it, North and Weſt. And if other tongues which were not the offſprings of the old Gomarian

rian were then in any parts of it, we may well ſuppoſe the prevailing Celtic, in that docile age, to have had potent influence on them to mould them in a great meaſure to its own forms and idioms, having ſo long a time to work them into it.

SECONDLY, After the breaking up of the Titan government, which, being one in itſelf, united the various Gomarian dialects under one common name of Celtic; this Celtic, upon the erection of new kingdoms and governments in all the provinces of that fallen empire, took likewiſe on it new names, after the denominations of the ſeveral ſets of people then combining together under ſeveral polities and eſtabliſhments. In the northern parts of Europe the Celto-Scythians; in Greece, before the time of Deucalion and his ſon Hellenus, the Ionians, the Dorians, the Æolians, (the Achaians in Theſſaly) the Spartans, the Laconians, the Argians, the Arcadians and the Meſſenians; each of theſe took up new names to their dialects, which afterwards were in Greece compriſed under theſe four, viz. the Attic, Ionic, Doric, Æolic. In Italy, the Auſonians, the Umbrians, the Oenotrians, the Hetruſcans, the Oſci, the Sabines, the Ligurians, and the Latians or Latins, who in the end ſwallowed all, gave each of them their names to their proper dialects. In Spain it continued to be called Celtiberian for ſome time; and then came to be called Cantabrian, with ſome dialects under it. And in Gaul it was generally called Gallic, as in Britain, Britiſh; for in theſe countries the former and the latter Celts, as to the main body of them, had fixed their ſtation. Ireland indeed in ancient times was ſcarce taken notice of; but we find its language to be a mixture of Britiſh, Cantabrian and Teuton: Its firſt tongue we preſume was Britiſh; but by reaſon of great colonies ſent thither from Spain and Belgium, it coaleſced with thoſe tongues, and came to be what we now call the Iriſh or old Scottiſh. To conclude;

As we, the remains of the Britiſh nation, who have ſole intereſt in the honour of this ancient Celtic tongue, are for ever obliged to that great light of our Britiſh antiquities, the learned Pezron, for his extraordinary pains and induſtry in tracing out from the beſt hiſtorical evidences the age could afford the firſt riſe and progreſs of our nation and language, and for his conſummate ſkill and judgment, in giving us a true light and an agreeable view of our origin in that excellent book of his lately publiſhed in French and now tranſlated into Engliſh, which aſſuredly well deſerves the peruſal of every one that knows how to value the antiquities of his nation and language; ſo we ought to be no leſs grateful to the

the memory of the late exquiſitely learned and judicious Mr. *Edward Lhwyd*, keeper of the *Muſæum Aſhmolæanum* at Oxford, for his indefatigable labour in collecting and digeſting the ſcattered remnants of this ancient celebrated language; but more eſpecially for the greateſt piece of ſervice in that particular, (for ought I know) that has been yet done to the lettered world; I mean that excellent work, his Comparative Etymology. In which he not only reſcues etymology, or that part of learning which is ſo neceſſary to the tracing of the origin of nations and languages, from the too common contempt that was thrown upon it, as being but trifling and frivolous, which ſome inconſiderate authors by trifling with it had made it ſeem to be; but alſo lays down *there* ſuch undeniable rules, ſeconded and exemplified by multitudes of parallel inſtances, for the more eaſy finding out the affinity of ſounds, which are obſerved in the various tongues of Europe, though by different pronunciation in different countries a little diſguiſed and altered; and by ſo reconciling that difference, has made it appear, from what we in our Britiſh tongue have retained of the ancient Celtic, that they are but dialects of *that one* once common language; though by their various mixtures with one another, by adding and ſubſtracting ſyllables to refine and poliſh, and other accidental occurrences, we find them ſo diſguiſed and altered, as to appear widely eſtranged, and to be accounted, by ſuch as conſider not the rules of etymology, and thereby the way of reconciling them, very different languages, when indeed they are but the iſſues of one common origin.

Theſe two now mentioned gentlemen, having by different methods opened a way of reſolving diverſe tongues in Europe to one mother-language, which language indeed Mr. *Lhwyd* leaves modeſtly undecided, but by Monſieur Pezron is determined to be the Celtic; I hoped my pains would not be ill ſpent, if I endeavoured by the demonſtration of this table to mount it one ſtep higher; that is, to reſolve that (our firſt diſtinguiſhed Gomarian) into the very original and fountain-head of all, the moſt ancient patriarchal Hebrew tongue. For to evince that, here are no leſs in this table than three hundred words of that patriarchal language, to which our derivatives, in the tongues I account for, carry in their ſound an eaſy unconſtrained congruity and coherence. And of theſe three hundred Hebrew words, more than half that number anſwer our preſent Britiſh ſounds, as near as can be expected at ſo remote a diſtance both of time and place. And indeed had I allowed myſelf the latitude which Mr. *Lhwyd* in his Comparative Etymology

gives, and he juſtifies and confirms it by many examples, I think I might, as to the Britiſh, have doubled the number; for I meddled not with ſounds tranſpoſed, reverſed or mutilated, of which there are good plenty, but of ſuch only as anſwered fully, and came to an eaſy congruity (allowing only, as I premiſe in the foregoing rule, the organical permutation of letters) with theſe Hebrew ſounds. So that on the whole matter, if the Hebrew tongue was the language of Noah and his ſons before the confuſion, and conſequently of Heber; and if Gomer and Javan after that confuſion incorporated a great deal of it into the particular languages of their families, or rather recovered and built the ſtructure of their ſpeech upon it, and then called it Gomarian and Jaonian, as very good authorities avouch they did; and if the Gomarian and Jaonian or Jonic were the original of the Celtic as Monſieur Pezron very well proves they were; and if that ancient Celtic was the mother of the Greek, Latin, Engliſh, Gauliſh, and Britiſh, as he likewiſe makes out beyond reaſonable denial; then the reſult of my propoſitions fairly determines in this iſſue, viz. that the Britiſh tongue, having more of that original language in it than all the reſt together, may merit the eſteem of being reckoned the moſt ancient and leaſt corrupted language in this weſtern part of the world; which is what deſerves our notice, and what I think ſufficient to ſay on this head.

Concerning our SAVIOUR'S MEDAL.

HAVING only mentioned this piece of antiquity in the ninth ſection of the firſt Eſſay, as being found among the rubbiſh of an old circular entrenchment, called *Bryn-Gwyn*, in the middle of the townſhip of *Tre'r Dryw*, and there made uſe of it to confirm my conjecture of that place's being the *Forum* or tribunal of the ancient Druids, I ſhall here add ſome further account of it.

I had cauſed ſome figures of it to be delineated in rundles on paper, and writ the Hebrew inſcription on the reverſes of them with my interpretation of it; and having ſent one of them to my late worthy friend, Mr. *Edward Lhwyd*, then at Oxford, deſiring him to conſult ſome friends there who were verſed in the antiquities of that language about it, he returned me the anſwer he had from Dr. Croſſthwait of Queen's college, which was thus:

SIR,

AS to the braſs Medal, bearing our Saviour's image, with a Hebrew inſcription; I have this to ſay,

FIRST, That I take this to be the inſcription, viz. *Jeſchuah gibbor Meſchiah havah v'Adam joked*; that is, "JESUS is and was the mighty and great Meſſias, or Man-Mediator or Reconciler." That which I read *Havah*, the gentleman reads *Hazæh*; it is true, there is ſuch a word as *Hazah*, which ſignifies *Stertit, Quievit*, which ſignification can have no place here; and therefore there muſt be a miſtake, either in the inſcription itſelf, or in the tranſcribing it; the *Zain* ſhould have been a *Vau*.

We have two learned orientaliſts, Hottinger and Waſerus; the firſt has writ, *De Nummis Orientalium*; the ſecond, *De Nummis Hebræorum*. The firſt ſays, p. 148, *Nummi certe quotquot, indubiè Hebraicos agnoſcimus, Urnam & Virgam oſtendunt: ſunt inſupèr Nummi qui referunt Arcem Zionis:* He ſays alſo, p. 149, *Habentur etiam hinc inde aurei & argentei Nummi, cum inſcriptione ex unâ parte* ישו *Jeſu, ex alterâ verò*, &c. משיח מלך, that is, *Meſſias Rex venit in pace, vel Deus homo factus eſt.*

The Syrians always called our Saviour *Jeſu*, cutting off the letter ע *Ain*, becauſe of the difficulty of pronouncing it; and the Greeks imitating them, adding only an *s* to it, called him Ἰησοῦς. And therefore I cannot believe that any ancient inſcription has *Jeſchuah* or *Jeſchuang*, tho' it be a Biblical word; it is probable that the inſcription would run in the Syrian language, which is *Jeſu*; and this makes me ſuſpect the inſcription to be of later date.

The ſecond, viz. Waſerus, *De Nummis Hebræorum*, p. 62, has theſe words, *His literis Samaritanis æneos aliquot Nummos, Julii ſecundi & Leonis decimi pontificum temporibus Romæ ſe vidiſſe Theſeus Ambroſius teſtatur, in introductione in Linguam Chaldaicam*; which Samaritan characters he expreſſes by Hebrew letters; and it is the ſame inſcription with that of Hottinger, which I have mentioned above, p. 149.

Waſerus adds this further, fol. 63, *Neque hoc ſilentio tranſmitti debet*, viz. *Imaginem Domini quâ nummo illo noſtro exprimitur, ad eam deſcriptionem eſſe deſignatum, quam Lentulus civis Romanus & Judæorum olim præſes, ad imperatorem Tiberium miſiſſe vulgò perhibetur, quam ait vultu placido, venuſto & ſubrubicundo fuiſſe, capillos habuiſſe colori benè maturæ nucis avellanæ ſimiles, planos & integros ad aures uſque, inde criſpos nonnihil ad humeros uſque: vertice verò diviſos Nazarenorum ritu: fronte fuiſſe planâ & fulgidâ, occulis glaucis & micantibus, naſo & ore decoro & prorſus ἀμύμω, barbâ capillis ſimili, haud prolixâ, ac bifidatâ.*

Theſius

Theſeus Ambroſius ſays he ſaw a braſs Medal of our Saviour with the inſcription mentioned above in the time of Julius II. and Leo X. that is about the years 1503, and 1512.

This is the firſt time that I met with a braſs Medal of our Saviour. But what was the face of our Saviour, or of St. Paul, or of the Virgin Mary, no man knows, if you will believe St. Auſtin, Lib. De Trinit. 8. c. 4. where he ſays, *Ipſius Dominicæ carnis facies innumerabilum cogitationum diverſitate variatur, &* c. 5. *utrùm illa facies Mariæ fuerit quæ occurrit animo, cum iſta loquimur, nec novimus omninò, nec credimus; & quâ facie fuerit Sanctus Paulus penitus ignoramus.* From Dr. Croſsthwait.

This was returned in anſwer to it.

SIR,

AS to the braſs Medal, a figure of which I have formerly ſent you, the account which Dr. Croſsthwait gives (and which you ſent me) of it, I muſt beg leave to diſſent from in ſome particulars.

FIRST, He miſtakes my reading the fourth word of the inſcription. I read it not *Hazæh*, as a verb, but *Zæh*, i. e. *Ille* or *Ipſe*, as a pronoun *cum ha Emphatico*, that is, *Meſchiah hazeh, vel ipſe Meſſias eſt*, as the Doctor may find it in ſeveral places, particularly in Iſaiah, chapter the eighth and the ſixth verſe, and in chapter the twenty-ninth and thirteenth verſe, where *Haam, Hazæh*, i. e. *Populus ille*, is twice repeated. Being ſo taken, I preſume there will be no need of reading it *Havah*, i. e. *fuit*; the very inſcription, in which there appears no cauſe to ſuſpect a miſtake, having the letter *Zain* in that word, the plaineſt of all the letters, as you will find when the coin, which I ſhall ſhortly ſend, comes to you.

SECONDLY, He ſeems diffident of the antiquity of it, becauſe the letter ע *Ain* is retained in the word *Jeſchuah*; which letter the Syrians (ſays he) always cut off from the word *Jeſchuang* or *Jeſchuah* for the difficulty of pronouncing it, and pronounced it *Jeſu*.

It is indeed obſerved by Schindler and others, that the Jews in thoſe countries, not all the Syrians, as the Doctor ſays, did uſually cut off the letter *Ain, ob difficultatem pronunciationis*. But pronouncing and writing are quite different things; and what is very difficultly pronounced, may be eaſily written, as upon this Medal. But withal, theſe authors obſerve a much greater reaſon inclining the Jews to do ſo, viz. becauſe *Jeſchuang* was a word derived from *Jaſchang*, *ſalvavit*; and the Jews by no means allowing him to be a Saviour, would not call him יש-

Jeſchuang, but ישו *Jeſu*, a name they ignominiouſly fixed upon him, not from *Jeſchuang* neither, which they utterly rejected, but by their rule of *Raſe Tebot*, from certain words in their language importing, *Pereat nomen ejus & memoria*, the firſt letters of which three words in Hebrew make up ישו *Jeſchu*, by which name and in which ſenſe, they ſo called him.

Now, I ſay, if the Jews cut off the letter ע, and curtailed his name becauſe derived from יעש *Jaſchang*, *ſalvare*, we may therefore well expect that the Chriſtians in thoſe countries, who did acknowledge him a Saviour, did not, for that very reaſon, cut it off, but retained it; eſpecially if we conſider their obligation thereunto, the angel, Matth. i. 21. expreſly commanding it, *Vocabis nomen ejus* יעשו, as the Syriac verſion itſelf, which is very remarkable, renders it. And that verſion being the proper dialect of the Syrian Chriſtians, and expreſſing his name with the *Ain*, I take it to be no mean argument of the Chriſtians' retaining it. And I find ſome of the more moderate Jews, as Abrauanel upon the fifty-ſecond of Iſaiah, Auctor Zemach and others, expreſs him יעשו *Jeſchuang*, and the Arabs call him יסו *Jaſong*, with the *Ain* in it; nay, Sanctus Pagninus obſerves in his Tract of Hebrew Names, that on the piece of the title of the croſs, to this day kept at Rome (*Romæ ſiqua fides*) as a ſacred relic, our Saviour's name thereon is found written יעשו *Jeſchuang*, as it is on this Medal.

If theſe things I produce be of any weight, and it being ſo, that this Medal of our bleſſed Saviour bears not a Jewiſh but a Chriſtian inſcription upon it, I then humbly conceive it may be of very ancient date, if not from the time of his being on earth; and that the letter ע *Ain* the Doctor excepts againſt, can be no juſt exception to the antiquity of it. That of St. Auſtin is nothing to the purpoſe, ſpeaking only there of ideas and mental conceptions, and not of any images of Chriſt, St. Paul, or the Virgin Mary in picture or ſculpture.

S I R,

Your humble Servant,

Henry Rowlands.

This medal was accordingly ſent to Oxford, but by the careleſſneſs of the bearer it was loſt on the way. [It ſeems to have been of the ſame ſort with that exhibited by Morinus de *Ling. primæv.* c. ix. p. 305. n. xii. and by Wagenſeil in *Sota* ap. Surenhus, Tom. iii. p. 239. And if ſo, the true reading is—*Jeſchuah Nazri Mſſhiah, Favòh ve Adam jachad*, i. e. *Jeſus Nazarenus Meſſias, Deus et homo ſimul.* And then it muſt be acknowledged to have been of much later date than our author ſuppoſes; and of little or no account.

A N

AN

ETYMOLOGY of BRITISH NAMES,

ANSWERING

A QUERE about the DERIVATION of ſome of them.

SIR, Feb. 5, 1702.

IN order to return you what anſwer at preſent occurs, as to thoſe Britiſh names you particularized in your laſt (for as for ſome other names you hinted before, they are perhaps now inexplicable) I ſhall obſerve,

FIRST, That our Britiſh anceſtors, in imitation of other nations, or rather by the uſual practice of thoſe warlike times, generally affected names, which noted ſome ſpecial characters of eminency and heroic virtue; as for example, of principality and conduct, of fortitude and courage, of hardineſs and reſolution, of ſucceſs and victory; and ſometimes of the quality of their armour and way of fighting. This it ſeems they made choice of, to animate men to anſwer thoſe characters, and to make good what their names imported; and the women generally had theirs from ſome excelling characters of colour, comelineſs, or beauty.

SECONDLY, That their way of expreſſing thoſe warlike virtues was frequently by the names of ſuch things, wherein thoſe virtues were moſt eminently viſible, as lion, bear, wolf, *&c.* or were performed by, as head, hand, horſe, chariot, ſteel, iron, *&c.*

Cyn.] Hence I take it that *Cyn*, properly Head—metaphorically, Firſt, Chief, or Prince—hath been uſed as initial and terminative of many Britiſh names.

Mael.] That *Mael*, properly ſteel; metaphorically, hardneſs, armour:

Orch.] That *Orch* or *Oruch*, eminent or ſupreme:

Haiarn.] That *Haiarn*, metaphorically, ſtrength:

Câd.] That *Câd*, i. e. army:

Gwg.] That *Gwg*, metaphorically, fierceneſs, anger:

Dewr.] That *Dewr*, valiant:

Car-

Car and *Rhôd.*] That *Car* and *Rhôd*, i. e. fighting-chariots, have been frequently by the ancient Britons taken up into the names of men. As thus,

1. *Cyn*, - -
- *Cyn-Fael*, backwards *Mael-Gyn*, armourer, or wearer of armour. Lat. *Vulcanus.*
- *Cyn-Felyn*, yellow-head.
- *Cyn-Frig*, taller by the head.
- *Cyn-Edda: Cyn-Illin.*
- *Cyn-Ddelw: Cyn-Llyw.*
- *Cyn-An*, &c.

2. *Mael*, - -
- *Arth-Fael*, backwards *Mael-Arth.*
- *Dyg-Fael* or *Dû-wg-Fael*, backward *Maelwg* or *Maelog. Llanfaelog.*
- *Mael-Dewr*, backward *Dewr-Fael* or *Derfail.*
- *Mael-Hir* or *Meilir.*
- *Breich-Fael* or *Brych-Fael*, i. e. *Clypeatus.*
- *Tyd-Fael* or *Tyd-Dur*, i. e. *Torquatus.*
- *Cad-Fael* or *Cad-Fael-Hyder*, i. e. *Cadwaladr.*
- *Hy-Fael* or *Howel*, i. e. boldly armed.
- *Teg-Fael*, fairly armed.
- *Di-ofn-Fael* or *Dyfnwal.*
- *Dunwallo Moelmutius*, and *Carreg Ddyfnwal* in Angleſey.
- *Caran-Fael*, a charioteer, or armed for that way of fighting.
- *Ffer-Mael*, fenced with iron and ſteel armour.

Note, that what we called *Mael* was expreſſed by other nations *Hard* or *Hardy*: hence,

- *Hardmannus*,
- *Hardicnute*,
- *Wolfhardus*,
- *Leonhardus*,
- *Bearnhardus*,
- *Borchardus*,
- *Everhardus*,
- *Gebhardus*,
- *Reinhardus*,
- *Winhardus*,
- *Sigehardus*,
- *Richardus*,
- *Edohardus*, &c.

} See more of the names of this compoſition in Wolfgangius Lazius and Jornandes's hiſtories.

And

And probably the Latin *Miles* may come from the Celtic *Mael-wr* or *Milwr*, no other etymology anſwering ſo properly to it.

3. *Llew*, - - *Llew-Eulyn*, lion-like, i. e. *Llewelyn*.

4. *Blaidd*, - *Blaidd-Ddyn*, wolf-like, i. e. *Bleddyn*.

5. *Orch* or *Oruch*
- *Llyw-Orch*, from *Llywydd* and *Orch*, i. e. *Llywarch*, chief-governor: hence probably the Latin *Hercules* or *Oruch-Hyll*, now *Erchyll*, horrid.
- *Rhôd-Orch*, from *Rhôd* and *Orch*, i. e. *Rhydderch*, chief-charioteer.

Hence perhaps many Gallic words have their terminations in *Orix*, which we know was ever pronounced by the natives *Orich*, as *Dumnorix*, *Ombiorix*, *Orgetorix*, *Cyngetorix*.

6. *Haiarn*, -
- *Taro-Haiarn* or *Trahaiarn*, i. e. iron-ſtroke or iron-arm.
- *Gwytheû-Haiarn* or *Gwetheirn*, i. e. iron-ſinewed or valiant.

7. *Rhôd*, -
- *Anaſ-Rod*, *Cad-Rod*, *Med-Rod*, *&c.* common Britiſh names of old.

8. *Car*, - -
- *Cyn-Gar*, captain of a train of chariots.
- *Car-Onwy*, *Gronwy*.
- *Car-Addog*, i. e. *Careiddog*: *Plauſtrariûs*.
- *Car-Fan*, *Llan-Garſan*.

9. *Gwg* or *wg*,
- *Mad-wg*, i. e. *Madog*: *Gwg-Gyn*, i. e. *Gwgan*.
- *Cad-wg-Gyn*, i. e. *Cadwgan*, *&c.*

If it be objected, that the word *Mael*, as betokening ſteel or armour, may be thought incongruous to the Britiſh nation, becauſe authors generally account of them as a naked ſort of people, caring little for guarding their bodies with armour; it may to that be replied, that though the generality of them had not armour, yet ſome had. And beſides, by claſſing the Britiſh names into certain periods of time, we find that moſt of thoſe names retaining the word *Mael* in their compoſition were uſed ſince the Roman conqueſt; in which times the Britons wore armour, which probably they called *Mael*; from whence the Saxons might, as they did ſeveral other things, borrow the word *Mael* or *Coat of Mail*. And *Mael* is undoubtedly the ancient Britiſh word for ſteel.

ſteel or iron, of which Dr. Davies gives ſome inſtances. And the *Metonymy* of it, in that ſenſe, is frequently uſed in other languages.

I find alſo *Mael*, *Maelio*, uſed for gain, profit, and poſſibly for conqueſt, in our tongue. And our extent-book makes mention of *Gwyr-Mael*, belonging to our Welſh princes in their ſeveral Manors and *Cantrefs*. But becauſe I find that moſt part of the Britiſh names which begin or end in *Mael*, are only applicable to the word in that ſenſe, I was willing to apply it to ſteel or armour. Yet I will not contend for the certainty of it, but take it only for probable, as I do of the other names I have accounted for, till a better etymology of them be offered.

Indeed, names owe their etymons to ſo many languages, that it is not poſſible to account for them from any one tongue, though ever ſo ancient. Tacitus mentions one Catvalda, a prince of the Suevi, in the reign of Tiberius, whom Wolfgangius Lazius calls *Cadwalder* in the language, he ſays, of that country; and yet we take the name to be wholly Britiſh. But perhaps you'll ſay the Suevi were neighbours to the Rhætian and Norican Gauls, and thereby might borrow that name from the Gauls, and conſequently the Gauls and the Britons being originally one nation, the name might become common among them; which, I confeſs, is very probable.

The ſame reaſon may be given for Catamelus, a petty prince of the Carni, and Hymelus, of the Marcomani or the ancient Danes; both which names may ſeem, by that rule of promiſcuouſly uſing letters of one organ, to anſwer our names of *Cad-Fael* and *Hy-Fael*, that is, *Howel*; which ſhews that one tongue can never anſwer in itſelf for all the names of it.

Beſides, it is to be obſerved, that in the original variation of languages, words betokening things of general concernment, have retained much of their primitive ſound in the divided tongues or dialects; of which there are abundance of inſtances. But here I ſhall be particular only in one or two. Firſt, מר *Mare*, lord or potentate; and ſuch the Gauls call *Mawr*, and ſome of the German dialects call *Mayr*. Hence it is that many proper names among the Gauls terminate in *Marus*, viz. *Vadomarus*, *Chondomarus*, *Suemarus*, &c. And in *Myrus* among the Northern nations, as *Widimyrus*, *Balamyrus*, *Theodomyrus*, &c. Hence very probably the Latin *Mavors* or *Mars*, one of the Titan potentates.

To the ſame purpoſe, ſecondly, the Hebrew word רחב * *Rachav*, i. e. great and powerful, was perhaps retained in the Celtic, and applied in naming their great ones by the Gauls and Britons with the ſound *Orch* or *Oruch*, as before inſtanced; and by the Teutons or Germans with *Rick* or *Rich*, as *Uldrich*, *Kenrich*, *Hunrich* or *Henrich*, and *Hymelrich*; the former expreſſing by it Eminency and Greatneſs, and the latter Wealth and Power.

By this way we may give a reaſon of the agreement of names in ſeveral languages, when ſome part of their compoſition are original ſounds without engroſſing all to any one of them; and the want of this conſideration hath inclined ſome people to reckon too much on their own language, and perplexed antiquity with very groſs miſtakes.

I am,

SIR,

Yours, &c.

H. R.

The ANSWER to the foregoing LETTER.

SIR,

I Return you moſt humble thanks for yours of Feb. 5. I am ſo much ſatisfied with your obſervations about our Britiſh names, that I have no objections to offer; but recommend the ſame to your farther improvement, at your leiſure, in other examples, which our old pedigrees may abundantly ſupply you with. And I am ſo much the more bold herein, becauſe I deſign to conſider that ſubject in the firſt book of the Archæologia.——I thank you for your note about Catvalda, prince of the Suevi, and Catamelus and Hymelus. Not only the Latin but alſo the Northern *M* was, we may ſafely conclude, equivalent to our *F*, *V* or *W*. And we, as the Iriſh do ſtill, uſed either *M* or *B* where we now uſe *F*, &c. till about the time of the Norman conqueſt. That the Teutonic *M* and our (modern) *F* are the ſame, appears from divers words. Thus their *ſummer* (which I know would ſtartle ſome philologers) is undoubtedly the ſame word with our *baf*; for in old Iriſh parchments, I find it written *Samb*, and their modern word is

* Hence probably the Greek ἀρχη and ἀρχων for chief and principal; and the Iriſh *Arach* for ſtrength and power, had alſo their derivation.

Sambradh. As for our using the *H* in the beginning of ſuch words as the Teutonic languages and the Latin begin with an *S*, we agree therein with the Greeks and Spaniards. I know not whether any critic has offered any reaſon for this diverſity in reference to the Greek and Latin languages, wherein it is vulgarly known, as ἡμι, *ſemi*; ὑπέρ, *ſuper*; ἥλιος, *ſol*, &c. But from the Iriſh language we may plainly ſee, how we and the Spaniards came by that pronunciation; viz. from our ancient cuſtom of varying the initial letters. For the Iriſh do not only vary thoſe initial letters that we do, but alſo change their initial *F*, *S* and *T* into *H*; *D* into *G*; and *G* into *Gh*. Thus *Sathadh* is the Iriſh word for thruſting; *do hathadh ſe*, he did thruſt. *Saladh*, to defile; *do haluidh tu*, thou haſt defiled. *Sarruadh*, to oppreſs; *ni huireocha tu*, thou ſhalt not oppreſs. So, *ſean*, old; *ſeabhoe*, a hawk; *ſilog*, a willow-tree; *ſiol*, ſeed; *ſalen*, ſalt; *ſeith*, a ſwarm, &c. muſt, as the ſyntax requires, be pronounced ſometimes *hean*, *heavok*, *hilog*, *hil*, *halen*, and *heith*. And as the Teutonic *ſummer* is the ſame with our *haf*, ſo is their Saxon *hreompſa* or *wild garlick* (now *ramſons*) the ſame with our *craf*. For we are to note, that the old Teutons pronouncing the initial *C* very gutturally, as we of North-Wales and the Armoric-Britons do ſtill, did by degrees ſoften it to an *H*, as the South-Wales men now do, who ſay, *hwain*, *hware*, *hwilia*, *hwerthin*, &c. for *chwain*, *chware*, &c. When I ſpeak of barbarous nations altering their letters, I mean only ſuch poteſtates as we now aſcribe to thoſe letters; for I am ſatisfied that all ſuch-like variations came by the ear of the multitude, and not from writing, which very few, if any at all, underſtood. This variation of *C* into *H*, ſeems to me manifeſt from theſe following and ſuch-like examples: Sax. *haenep* (now *hemp*) *cannabis*: Sax. *heafod* (now *head*) *caput*. Horn, *cornu*; hart, *cervus*; heart, *cor*; hoſe, *cavea*; hund, *canis*; hus or houſe, called by the Italians *caſa*; *hwa* (now *who*) *qui*; what, *quid*: Sax. *hwegol*, a cycle; a hundred (by the Cantabrians or old Spaniards, *ehun*) *centum*, &c. From theſe and other ſuch-like obſervations it appears to me, that all our neighbouring tongues might be demonſtrated to be of one origin; as for the Sclavonian and others more remote, I have no knowledge of them, and ſo can ſay nothing.

I am not averſe to publiſh in this firſt book of Archæologia Britannica, ſuch a collation of the principal words of the ſeveral Britiſh dialects, as you recommend; but the Iriſh would fall much ſhort of the reſt. And I know not whether the large Iriſh and the Corniſh vo-

cabulary, I have made for this tome, together with grammatical obſervations about their agreement with our Britiſh, may not in great meaſure anſwer the ends you propoſe. In your next be pleaſed to inſert your notion of the uſe of ſuch an index, more at large, that I may farther conſider of it.

I ſuppoſe your friend that paralleled the Britiſh words with the Iriſh was Mr. E. F. who has been ſo kind as to impart to me alſo an alphabetical catalogue of ſuch words, before ever I had any thoughts of the deſign I am now engaged in. I ſuppoſe he has made large improvements ſince. And indeed it ſeems to me that the Iriſh have in a great meaſure kept up two languages; the old Britiſh, and the Scottiſh which they brought with them from Spain. For notwithſtanding their hiſtories (as thoſe of the origin of other nations) be involved in fables; that there came a Spaniſh colony into Ireland, is very manifeſt from a compariſon of the Iriſh tongue partly with the modern Spaniſh, but eſpecially with the Cantabrian or Baſque. And this ſhould invite us to have ſomething of more regard than we uſually have to ſuch fabulous hiſtories. They have alſo, I think, a greater allay of the Teutonic than we: as *ſneacht*, ſnow; *dorchadas*, darkneſs; *ſalamh* (or *holav*) hollow; *bir* and *burn*, brook and water, &c. &c.

I have as yet had but little time for the peruſal of your Antiquities of Angleſey. I ſhall ever remain ſenſible of my obligations for your communicating a piece which ſeems worth all I have hitherto met with.

I am,

SIR,

Yours entirely,

Edward Lhwyd

Another LETTER, concerning the eaſy finding out the ISLE of ANGLESEY by the Ancient GREEKS.

SIR,

IN anſwer to yours ——— I have this to ſay, that neither the Iſland of Mona, nor many other of the Britiſh iſles, were utterly unknown to the inquiſitive Greeks in very early times. And that will appear if we conſider theſe particulars.

FIRST, That the Titan empire, of which Greece was a member, and the capital reſidence of their princes on this ſide of the Mediterranean, made quick and large conqueſts of many countries and iſlands to the weſtward, as Dr. Pezron, you know, has very learnedly proved; who therefore, no doubt, made uſe of and encouraged navigation and ſhipping (the uſe whereof is as ancient as Noah's ark) to find out unconquered places. And hence it is, that they tell us of their Neptune, Tritons, and Argonauts, who undoubtedly were their ſea-commanders in thoſe expeditions; and though ſufficiently fabulized by their ſubſequent poets, yet the very names of them, as I have intimated in one of my late letters, being Celtic, and by the moſt accountable etymology, implying *ſea-faring men*, do diſcover ſome foundation of truth in thoſe relations, though in their way of delivering them they appear ever ſo wild and romantic.

SECONDLY, Their way of ſailing to the weſtern Britiſh iſles was very plain and eaſy; for if you look on the map of Europe, you will find that the Streights mouth bears near due Weſt to the coaſts of Greece. And when they ſail ten or twenty leagues ſtraight to the ocean, beyond the coaſts of Spain, their ſailing thence on a rumb directly North unavoidably brings them to the coaſt of Ireland and to the Iriſh channel, wherein this Iſle of Mona is ſeated.

Give me leave to expatiate here on the way of ſailing uſed by the ancients. We muſt not think that, becauſe they wanted the compaſs, they durſt not launch out of the ſight of land; it is a vulgar error. Altho' that noble invention was but lately diſcovered, yet we are ſure many expert ſeamen of old made great and ſucceſsful voyages. If they had not the north-pointing needle, they had the north-pole ſtar (far more ſteady and invariable) to guide them. And not only that, but they had all the other ſtars in this hemiſphere, and together with them the arch of the ſun in the day-time, to give them direction. I ever thought that ſea-voyages gave the firſt riſe to the obſervation of the ſtars, on which aſtronomy was founded; becauſe in that caſe men had moſt need of taking notice of them, and to diſtinguiſh them for their particular uſe; as we find theſe Titans to have done, either giving them the names of their princes, viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, or of ſome noted atchievements of theirs, as of Argò, Pegaſus, Andromeda, &c. under which names, and twenty more, the ſtars and conſtellations were familiarly known to them. And as to the matter in hand, I will appeal to any knowing ſeaman, if the Greeks ſailing along the Mediterranean directly

directly West to the Streights mouth, and some way farther, and from thence turning their course directly North; whether their way on those two points, and by these helps only, was not very safe and easy, to arrive at the British and Irish channel. And if easy, we may conclude it was done so. For we are sure that the Phœnicians, who were a branch of these Titans, frequently voyaged here for tin and other commodities, some ages before the Roman conquest; and by that means might bring the Isle of Mona, which they could not miss by coasting the West of Britain, and many things relating to it, to the knowledge of the Greeks, who would not fail, if things appeared singularly desirable in it, to improve their talent of feigning Hesperian Gardens and Elysian Fields to be part of the characters of it.

THIRDLY, I shall apply these considerations to clear the way to a right notion of Plutarch's stories, which I before hinted to you, and particularly of that other in * Diodorus Siculus, which must belong to one of these British isles: for there was no isle of that bigness to the North of Greece which they could communicate with. And when their mariners, who probably brought them that account of it, told them it was a Hyperborean or northern island; it was so, not in respect to Greece, but to the point they began to turn their course at, and to sail northerly. And as to that part of the relation, which says that they could discover mountains in the moon; it was a very antient opinion among the Epicureans. Neither is it improbable, but that the ancients might know the way of *forming* and *combining* glasses (the thing being easy in itself) by the help of which that phenomenon is only discoverable; and if they had it, it is as easy to imagine that they kept it in their Cabala among other secrets, and so might be lost; till later ages found it out again, and by the various application of it ennobled those sciences that depend upon it with those wonderful discoveries which the learned in this present age are masters of.

SIR,

I am,

Your, &c.

H. R.

* See the sixth section, the latter part of it.

SOME

SOME

LETTERS

WHICH PASSED BETWEEN

The Author and the late Mr. EDWARD LHWYD,

(Keeper of the Aſhmole Muſeum in Oxford),

Touching ſome Things treated of in theſe ESSAYS, not improper to be added here.

DEAR SIR, Oxford, Nov. 1, 1702.

I WAS this ſummer, for about three or four weeks, at Cambridge; being invited thither by a falſe title of a manuſcript in their late-printed Catalogue, which promiſed me a map of Britain and Ireland by Giraldus Cambrenſis; though the book, when conſulted, afforded nothing but the out-lines of two iſlands, with the word Britannia in the midſt of one of them, and Hibernia in the other, and the Orchades placed betwixt both, inſtead of the Hebrides. I had ſeveral other manuſcripts to conſult; but received no great inſtruction. However, being there, I copied Giraldus's Epiſtles; and lingered out my time betwixt the public library, that of Bennet-College, and Trinity.

In the public library I happened to meet with a very ancient manuſcript of Juvencus, a Spaniſh prieſt, who turned the goſpel into heroic verſe in the time of Conſtantine. It was written upon very thick parchment, in that character we call the Iriſh, but was indeed anciently the Britiſh, whence both they and the Saxons received it. Turning the leaves over, I obſerved here and there ſome words gloſſed or interpreted by other more familiar Latin words, and ſometimes by Britiſh; whereby I learned that the Britons pronounced the letter *M* in the midſt and at the end of words as we now pronounce *V* conſonant; which accounts for the name of *Cadvan* being written *Catamanus* at *Lhan Gadwaladr*. I learned ſeveral other notes as to their orthography, with the ſignification of ſome few words; but I am at a loſs to know the Britiſh of what country

country it was; for it ſeems ſo different from ours, that I ſhould rather ſuſpect it either for the language of the Picts, or that of the *Stradclwyd Britons*; as perhaps you will own upon reading the three following *Englyns*, which I found at the top-margin of three ſucceſſive pages in the midſt of the book. [*Theſe Englyns he hath printed in the letter which he found them written in, and may be ſeen, with his reading of them, in his Archæologia, p.* 221.

I have ſent it to one Mr. ********, a Shropſhire Welſhman, and a famous linguiſt and critic; but he returned me ſuch an interpretation as I ſhall not now trouble you withal.

Sir, I hope towards the latter end of ſpring to begin to print my Archæologia; what information you can contribute in the interim (particularly as to ancient cuſtoms, &c.) will be very acceptable to,

WORTHY SIR,

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

Edward Lhwyd.

DEAR SIR, Oxford, Dec. 20, 1702.

I RECEIVED your obliging letter of the ſeventh. I am well ſatisfied much of your reading is true; but that of Mr. ******** will, I believe, ſurprize you, as well as it did me, when you ſee it.—As to the letter *Z*, it was till of late the only letter the Armoricans and Corniſh uſed both for *dh* and *th*; and a prieſt of Quemper dioceſe in Bretagne taught me to read *Brezonec* [*linguâ Armoricanâ*] *Brethonæg*; whereas thoſe of the dioceſe of St. Paul de Leon, who pretend to be the refiners of the Britiſh, had directed me to read, as we ſhould in England, *Brezonek*; but you muſt know that almoſt all foreigners pronounce the *Z* as *ts*. In an old Corniſh manuſcript I have on parchment, the word for *father* is written *tays*, and ſo I found it always, but they pronounce their *S* as we do *Z*.—I am afraid we ſhall hear no more of the Hebrew coin, it is now ſo long ſince it was loſt. I ſhall long heartily to read your Archæological Obſervations, and am very glad to find you have conſidered that ſubject. It is the happieſt temper a man can be maſter of, not to be too tenacious of his conjectures; and I hope I am

not

not of their number who frequently recommend this doctrine, and yet are very indulgent to their own fancies; of which diſeaſe I know none more ſick than Dr. *******, who makes his hypotheſis a demonſtration of what Moſes (ſays Mr. Harries) hinted at; and is very much diſpleaſed at every one who does not believe it as much as goſpel.

Amongſt your other Archæological Obſervations, I ſhould be glad of your thoughts of the ſignification of Britiſh proper names of men and women, *ex. gr.* what the word *Mael*, ſo common with them, might imply; which was of frequent uſe with them both in the former and later part of names, as *Maelgwn*, *Cynfael*; *Maeldrew*, *Derfael*; *Arthfael*, *Maelarth*; *Brychfael*, *Cadfael*, *Caranfael*, *Dyfnwal*, *Teg fael*, *Tydfael*, *Ffermael*, *&c.*

I find divers places, whoſe names are now obſcure, named in ancient times from mens proper names; as *Y Glwyſig*, in Denbighſhire, from *Eliſeg*; *Coed Marchan* near *Ruthyn*, and *Ceſen Farchan* in *Caermarthenſhire*, from *Marchen*; *Pant y Pol-lion*, in the ſame county, from *Paulinus*. For I have found monuments of theſe perſons at each of them, the lateſt whereof, viz. *Eliſeg*, was great-grandfather to *Cyngen ap Cadell*, prince of *Powys*, who died about the year 840.

SIR,

Your real Friend, and humble Servant,

Edward Lhwyd.

WORTHY SIR, Sligo, March 12, 1699-700.

I HAD not been ſo long ſilent, but for a reaſon I have mentioned this poſt to Mr. Bulkeley; for I was loth to trouble my friends till I had ſomething to ſay that might ſeem worth communicating; and indeed one half of my time, ſince I left you, has been ſpent in places quite remote from all correſpondence, amongſt the Hebrides and other highlands of Scotland, with whom their neighbours ſeem to have leſs commerce than they have with either of the Indies. They are nothing ſo barbarous as the Lowlanders and Engliſh commonly repreſent them; but are, for what I could find, a very hoſpitable and civil people. And the main reaſons of their contrary character I take to be their adhering too much to their ancient cuſtoms, habit and language; whereby they diſtinguiſh

diſtinguiſh themſelves from all their neighbours; and diſtinctions always create mutual reflections. I have filled about three ſheets of paper with their cuſtoms (any or all whereof you may command at your leiſure) and have tranſlated Mr. Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue* into their language, which in two thirds, or thereabouts, agrees with ours. They have alſo the ſame ſort of monuments we have, viz. *Caer*, *Carn*, *Cromlech*, and ſtones pitched on end circularly; agreeing ſometimes exactly with ours, and ſometimes a little varying from them. But as to the names of places, I know not whether the Lowlands of Scotland may not agree more with the Britiſh than the Highlands: as to inſtance in ſome names of their rivers.

Airw	Seem no other than	*Arw*, Monmouthſhire
Tay		*Tawy*, Glamorganſhire
Avin		*Afon*
Leven		*Lhefeni*
Teviot		*Tywod*
Twede		
Ail		*Elwy*
Eſk		*Wyſk*
Klide		*Clwyd*
Irwin		*Hirwen*
Tovi		*Teifi*
Nid		*Nedh*, Glamorganſhire
Douglas		*Dulas*

But indeed, moſt names of places throughout the kingdoms of Ireland and Scotland reliſh much of a Britiſh origin; though I ſuſpect that upon a diligent compariſon of the languages and cuſtoms, we ſhall find that the antient Scots of Ireland were diſtinct from the Britons of the ſame kingdom; but as yet I have not put my notes together, ſo as to be ſatisfied herein.

We collected a conſiderable number of inſcriptions in Scotland, and ſome in this kingdom, both Latin and Iriſh. But I could meet with no antiquary, hitherto of either country, that could interpret thoſe in the Iriſh. One monument I met with, within four miles of Edinburgh, different from all I had ſeen elſewhere, and never obſerved by their antiquaries. I take it to be the tomb of ſome Pictiſh king; though ſituate by a river-ſide, remote enough from any church. It is an area of about ſeven yards diameter, raiſed a little above the reſt of the ground, and en-

compaſſed with large ſtones; all which ſtones are laid lengthwiſe, excepting one larger than ordinary, which is pitched on end, and contains this inſcription in the barbarous characters of the fourth and fifth centuries, *In oc tumulo jacit Vetta F. Victi.* This the common people call the *Cat-Stene*, whence I ſuſpect the perſon's name was *Getus*, of which name I find three Pictiſh kings; for the names pronounced by the Britons with *G* were written in Latin with *V*, as we find by *Gwyrtheyrn*, *Gwyrthefyr* and *Gwythelyn*, which were written in Latin *Vortigernus*, *Vortimerus* and *Vitelinus*. I alſo met with one monument in this kingdom very ſingular. It ſtands at a place called New-Grange near Drogheda; and is a mount or barrow of very conſiderable height, encompaſſed with vaſt ſtones pitched on end round the bottom of it; and having another leſſer ſtanding on the top. This mount is all the work of hands, and conſiſts almoſt wholly of ſtones; but is covered with gravel and green ſwerd, and has within it a remarkable cave. The entry into this cave is at bottom, and before it we found a great flat ſtone, like a large tomb-ſtone, placed edgewiſe, having on the outſide certain barbarous carvings, like ſnakes encircled, but without heads. The entry was guarded all along on each ſide with ſuch rude ſtones, pitched on end, ſome of them having the ſame carving, and other vaſt ones laid a-croſs theſe at top. The out-pillars were ſo cloſe preſſed by the weight of the mount, that they admitted but juſt creeping in, but by degrees the paſſage grew wider and higher till we came to the cave, which was about five or ſix yards high. The cave conſiſts of three cells or apartments, one on each hand, and the third ſtraight forward, and may be about ſeven yards over each way. In the right-hand cell ſtands a great baſon of an irregular oval figure of one entire ſtone, having its brim oddly ſinuated or elbowed in and out; and that baſon in another of much the ſame form. Within this baſon was ſome very clear water which dropped from the cave above, which made me imagine the uſe of this baſon was for receiving ſuch water, and that the uſe of the lower was to receive the water of the upper baſon when full, for ſome ſacred uſe, and therefore not to be ſpilled. In the left apartment there was ſuch another baſon, but ſingle, neither was there any water in it. In the apartment ſtraight forward there was no baſon at all. Many of the pillars about the right-hand baſon were carved as the ſtones above-mentioned; but under feet there was nothing but looſe ſtones of any ſize in confuſion; and amongſt them a great many bones of beaſts and ſome pieces of deers horns. Near the top of this mount they found a gold coin of the emperor Valentinian; but notwithſtanding this,

this, the rude carving above-mentioned makes me conclude this monument was never Roman, not to mention that we want hiſtory to prove that ever the Romans were at all in Ireland. The druid doctrine about the *Glain Neidr* obtains very much throughout all Scotland, as well the Lowlands as Highlands; but there is never a word of it in this kingdom, where it ſeems, in regard there were no ſnakes, they could not propagate it. Beſides the ſnake-ſtones (whereof I procured ſome variety in Scotland) the Highlanders have the *ſnail-ſtones, paddoc-ſtones, mole-ſtones, hedge-hog-ſtones, kock-knee-ſtones, elf-arrows, duel-ſtones, &c* to all which they attribute their ſeveral virtues, and carry them about them as amulets. The Iriſh have many more ancient manuſcripts than we in Wales; but ſince the late revolutions they are much leſſened. I now and then pick up ſome very old parchment manuſcripts; but they are hard to come by, and they that do any thing underſtand them, value them as their lives. This province of Connaught abounds with figured foſſils; but they are much the ſame with thoſe in Wales, though ſeveral among them new. We have alſo met with ſome Alpine plants here that Britain no-where affords. At your leiſure a few lines directed to be left with Mr. Richard Bulkeley, at the Blind-Key in Dublin, will be exceeding acceptable to

Your moſt obliged humble Servant,

Edward Lhwyd.

DEAR SIR, Oxford, March 10, 1701.

I WAS heartily glad to hear by the bearer of your good health, and thought it high time to beg your pardon for my long ſilence; and to aſſure you that being now returned hither and ſettled, I ſhall for the future be more mindful of my duty to my beſt friends. I came home but this week out of Bretagne in France, which I was forced to quit much ſooner than I intended. For I had ſcarce been there three weeks when the intendant *(des marines)* of Breſt, ſent a provô three and thirty miles (viz. to St. Paul de Leon) to bring me before him. The meſſenger found me buſy in adding the Armoric words to Mr. Ray's *Dictionariolum Trilingue*, with a great many letters and ſmall manuſcripts about the table, which he immediately ſecured, and then proceeded to ſearch our pockets for more. All theſe papers he tied up in a napkin, and requiring me to put three ſeals thereon, added three more of his

own. I told him I had brought letters of recommendation to the theologal of the city, who is the third perſon in the dioceſe; upon which he went with me to him. The gentleman owned it, and delivered him the letter, adding another in our behalf to his maſter, the intendant, and a third to a captain of a man of war at Breſt. Having ſecured our papers, he granted us the favour of going to Breſt before them, a-part, that the country might not take notice of our being priſoners. Upon our appearance before the intendant, he never troubled us with examination, but ordered us forthwith to the caſtle: and next day the jailor brought us word from him, that we muſt find for ourſelves, for that we ſhould not have the benefit of the uſual allowance for the king's priſoners, which was a livre (or one ſhilling and eight-pence) a-day. Upon this we replied, we had no money, but only letters of credit upon merchants in ſome towns we deſigned to travel through; and ſo quarrelled with our jailor, refuſing to take any meat or wine from him on ſuch terms: which we did, becauſe we found we did not lie much under mercy, having a ground room and the conveniency of receiving through a window any thing that was neceſſary; which ſome Iriſh ſoldiers in the caſtle would bring us for our money. Next day he brought us word, we were allowed fifteen-pence a-day; and that allowance we had, together with tolerable good white wine for three-pence a-quart, during our confinement, which was juſt eighteen days. When we had been there a week, we thought it high time to draw up a petition, that we might be examined, &c. But this being writ in Latin, the captain above-mentioned, to whom I ſent it in order to be preſented, deſired to be excuſed, in regard the intendant was not converſant in that language. However, next day he ſent for us out, and then ſhewed us our mail of papers and the ſeals entire; and opening it, they required me to mark each particular paper and book, and alſo write my name on them all. After this they were delivered to an interpreter, who kept them about nine days, and though many of them were writ in Welſh and ſome in Corniſh, yet he rightly concluded from the nature of the reſt, they contained nothing of treaſon, and bearing the character of an interpreter, he was loth to own himſelf puzzled; ſo told them in general, without any exception, none of my papers related to ſtate-matters, upon which we were diſmiſſed, and had all our papers reſtored, but denied a paſs to Paris, and ordered to depart the kingdom; the provô telling us, the war was already declared againſt the emperor, the Dutch and the Engliſh. About a fortnight before they ſeized us, they had ſecured two other Engliſh gentle-

men,

men, both Londoners, one Mr. Taylor, a merchant, and one Keck, formerly a lieutenant in a man of war under his preſent majeſty, who told me he was well acquainted with Mr. Maurice Owen of Holy-Head, &c. Theſe gentlemen (tho' the provô acknowledged to me they had nothing againſt them) fared much worſe than we did; being committed to the common town-jail, confined double the time, and yet not one farthing allowed them. So much for our coarſe welcome in France, which prevented almoſt all the enquiries I deſigned, intò the language, cuſtoms and monuments of that province. For all we could do was but to pick up about twenty ſmall printed books in their language, which are all, as well as ours, books of devotion, with two folios publiſhed in French; the one containing the hiſtory of Bretagne, the other the lives of the Armoric ſaints. I had been before in Cornwal during the ſpace of three or four months; and coming hither found that the Armorican and Corniſh differed leſs than the preſent Engliſh of the vulgar in the north from thoſe of the weſt of England; but in reſpect of us the difference is greater. The Corniſh is much more corruptly ſpoken than the Armorican, as being confined to half a ſcore pariſhes towards the Land's-End; whereas the other is the common language of a country almoſt as large as Wales. I had taken directions about ancient Britiſh manuſcripts in ſome of their convents, and ſome perſons noted for their ſkill in the language and antiquities of their country, but was not allowed time to conſult either men or books, or to view any of their old monuments, ſo that I ſhall be able to ſay little of that country, beſides what relates to their language. Dr. Liſter in his Journey to Paris mentions one Pezron, abbot of Charmoiſe, as a great critic in the Armorican language and antiquities, adding he had ſettled a correſpondence between him and me: but I could never yet, though I writ twice or thrice according to the doctor's directions, obtain one line from him. I have procured tranſcripts of the only three manuſcripts extant in the Corniſh. The oldeſt is a poem of the paſſion of our Saviour, written on parchment about two hundred years ſince; the others contain ſeveral operas or plays, all out of the Scripture. Their language comes neareſt that dialect of the Britiſh called in Dr. Davies *Gwenhwyſeg*, or the language of Monmouth and Glamorgan.

I diſcovered there ſome old inſcriptions not obſerved before, probably about a thouſand years ſtanding, viz. the tomb-ſtones of *Ciris ap Cynſor*, *Rhiwalhfran ap Cynwal*, *Cenadhaf ap Ychdinw*, and *Cnegwy ap Ennian*: three whereof have places near theſe monuments denominated from them, though (becauſe they could not read them) none ſuſpected it before, or believed

believed my reading. The places are called *Pol* (i.e. *Pwlh) Ciris*, *Gonſal Church*, and *Mân* (i. e. *Maen) Cneg*. The modern Corniſh ſeem to me a colony of the Armoricans from their language and habit; which is alſo agreeable with our Britiſh hiſtory. For one may obſerve from the names of places that another people once poſſeſſed that country, as one may from the names of places in ſome parts of Wales gather that the Iriſh nation once inhabited there, particularly in Brecknockſhire and Caermarthenſhire, where the lakes are called *Lhychæ*, and the high mountains *Bannæ*; as they commonly are throughout the Highlands of Scotland and Ireland. I had no opportunity (though had I been aware of what happened I could have made better uſe of my time) of obſerving any remains of Druidiſm amongſt the Bretons; but the Corniſh retain variety of charms, and have ſtill towards the Land's-End the amulets of *Maen Magal* and *Glain Neidr*, which latter they call a *Melpref* or *Milpref*, and have a charm for the ſnake to make it, when they have found one aſleep, and ſtuck a hazle-wand in the centre of her ſpirce, &c.

Cornwal affords ſtore of thoſe barbarous monuments we have in Wales: ſome whereof are alſo, I preſume, in all our neighbouring countries of Europe, viz. *Meini Gwyr* (or ſtones pitched circularly) *Cromleich*, *Cryg* or *Gorſedh*, *Caer*, *Carn*, *&c.* Of theſe in our ſmall progreſs in Bretagne, we met with only the *Cryg* and *Caer*, but were informed alſo of the circular ſtones. I have in Cornwal obſerved of thoſe Britiſh towns you ſhewed me in your neighbourhood, and we have draughts of them as of all things elſe that occurred. I have no mind to take hand from paper, but time not permitting me to trouble you farther, I only add my moſt humble and dutiful reſpects to Mr. B****** and Mr. L*****, and that nothing can be more welcome here than a few lines directed at your leiſure to,

SIR,

Your much obliged Friend and Servant,

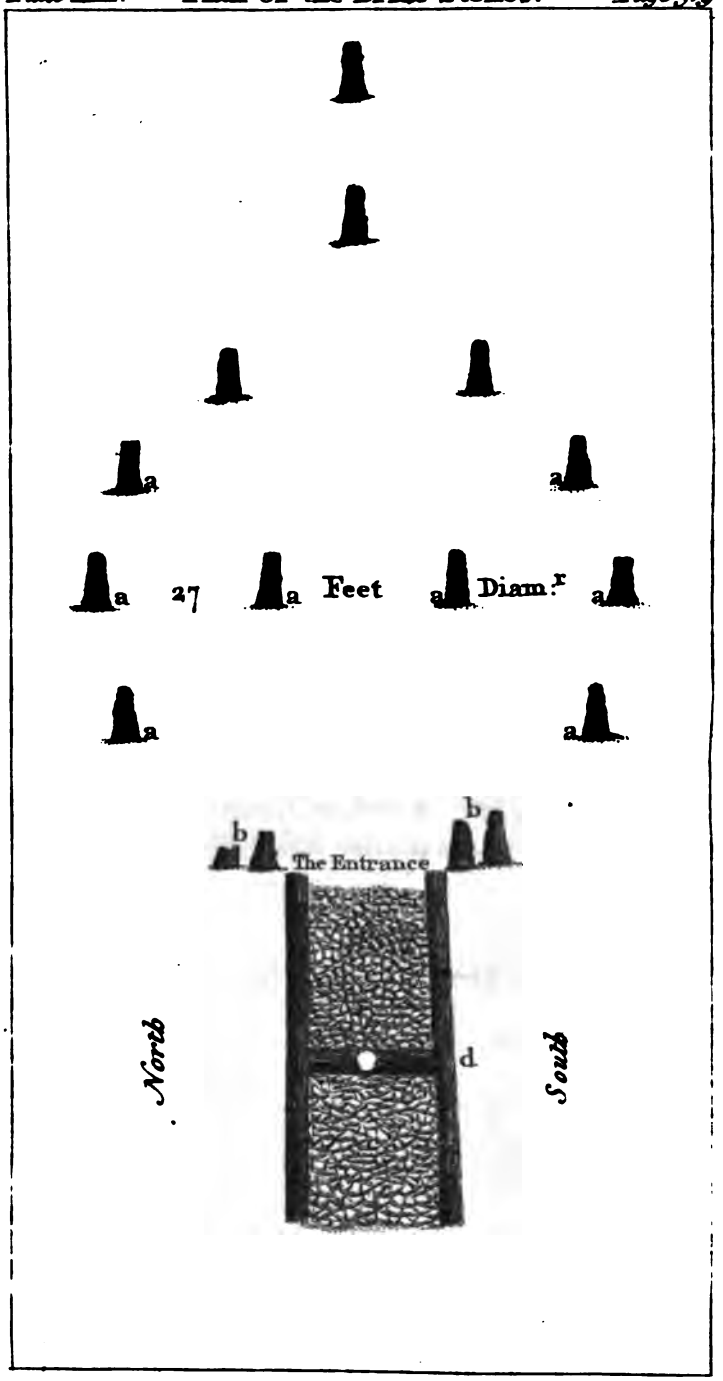
Edward Lhwyd.

The reader, I hope, will pardon the digreſſive part of this letter, for that it introduces the latter and more inſtructive part; and with ſome readers the whole perhaps will not be unentertaining; it is therefore wholly inſerted.

Of

Plan of the Birdo Stones

Plate XIII. **Plan of the Bride Stones.** *Page 319.*



Of the BRIDE STONES.

TO theſe Letters it may not be improper to add the following, which contains the deſcription of an ancient Druidical monument, called the *Bride Stones*; and was communicated to us by the Rev. Mr. Thomas Malbon, rector of Congleton in Cheſhire. It is not only curious in itſelf; but is nearly allied to the ſubject of this book, and ſerves to confirm ſome remarks which our author has made in the foregoing Eſſays.

The *Bride Stones* are in the pariſh of Biddulph in the county of Staffordſhire; and ſtand on a riſing ground in the break or opening between the Cloud and Woof-Lowe—which are two of the chain of hills that run through Staffordſhire, Cheſhire, Derbyſhire, and Yorkſhire, into Scotland.

A A, &c. * are ſix upright free ſtones, from three to ſix feet broad, of various heights and ſhapes, fixed about ſix feet from each other in a ſemicircular form, and two within, where the earth is very black, mixed with aſhes and oak-charcoal. It is apprehended the circle was originally complete, and twenty-ſeven feet in diameter; for there is the appearance of holes where ſtones have been, and alſo of two ſingle ſtones, one ſtanding Eaſt of the circle, at about five or ſix yards diſtance, and the other at the ſame diſtance from that.

B B are rough, ſquare, tapering ſtones, four feet three inches broad, and two feet thick. One on the North ſide is broken off, as is part of the other.

C C is the pavement of a kind of artificial cave. It is compoſed of broken pieces of ſtones about two inches and a half thick, and laid on pounded white ſtones about ſix inches deep; two inches of the upper part of which are tinged with black, ſuppoſed from the aſhes falling through the pavement, which was covered with them and *oak-charcoal*, about two inches thick. Several bits of bones were alſo found, but ſo ſmall that it could not be diſcovered whether they were human or not.

The ſides of this cave, if I may ſo call it, were originally compoſed of two unhewn free ſtones, about eighteen feet in length, ſix in height, and fourteen inches thick at a medium. Each of them is now broken into two.

* See plate XIII.

D is a partition ſtone ſtanding acroſs the place, about five feet and a half high, and ſix inches thick. A circular hole is cut through this ſtone, about nineteen inches and a half in diameter.

The whole was covered with long, unhewn, large, flat free ſtones, ſince taken away. The height of the cave from the pavement to the covering is five feet and ten inches.

The entrance was filled up with free ſtones and earth, ſuppoſed to be duſt blown by the wind from year to year in dry weather.

There remains another place of the ſame conſtruction, but ſmaller, and without any inward partition, about fifty-five yards diſtant from this. It is two yards and a half long, two feet and a half broad, and three feet two inches high. There is alſo a part of another.

There was a large heap of ſtones that covered the whole, an hundred and twenty yards long, and twelve yards broad. Theſe ſtones have been taken away from time to time by maſons and other people, for various purpoſes. And in the year 1764, ſeveral hundred loads were carried away for making a turnpike-road about ſixty yards from this place, which laid it open for examination.

This ancient ſacred place was probably covered, ſays Mr. Malbon, with this great heap of ſtones to conceal and preſerve it at the time the Druids were on the decline, But we rather think, as theſe *Carnedde* or heaps of ſtones were a general appurtenance of Druidical worſhip, that this, though of a different figure from thoſe commonly known, made a real part of the original ſtructure.

A CATA-

A

CATALOGUE

OF THE

Repreſentatives in Parliament

FOR THE

COUNTY OF ANGLESEY,

FROM THE

Thirty-Third Year of King HENRY VIII. to this Time.

An. Reg.	ANGLESEY.	BEAUMARES.
	HENRY VIII.	
33.	AT Weſtminſter, —— torn off the file	RIchard ap Rhydderch of Myfyrion, Eſq.
	EDWARD VI.	
1.	Weſtminſter, ——— ———, torn off the file	John ap Robert Lloyd, Eſq.
6.	Weſtminſter, Lewis Owen ap Meurick of Frondêg, Eſq.	Maurice Gryffyth of Plas Newydd, Eſq.

It is ſaid, that the three firſt burgeſſes were returned for Newborough, and not for Beaumares.

ANGLESEY.	BEAUMARES.
MARIÆ.	
AR.	
1. Weſtminſter, William Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	Rowland Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.
1. Oxford, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt.	Rowland Bulkeley, Eſq.
PHIL. & MARIÆ.	
1, 2. Weſtminſter, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt.	——— ———, Merchant
2, 3. Weſtminſter, William Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	Hugh Goodman, Merchant
4. Weſtminſter, Rowland Meredydd of Bodowyr, Eſq.	William Prees ap Howel
ELIZABETHÆ.	
1. Weſtminſter, Rowland Meredydd, Eſq.	——— ——— torn off the file
5. ~~Weſtminſter, Rich. Bulkeley,~~ Eſq.	~~William ap Rees, Gentleman~~
13. ———, Sir Richard Bulkeley, Kt.	William Bulkeley, Gentleman
14. Weſtminſter, Lewis Owen ap Meyrick, Eſq.	Rowland Kenrick, Gentleman. He was town-clerk of Beaumares
27. Weſtminſter, Owen Holland of Berw, Eſq.	Thomas Bulkeley, Gentleman
28. Weſtminſter, Sir Henry Bagnal of Plas Newydd, Kt.	Thomas Bulkeley, junior, Eſq.
31. Weſtminſter, Thomas Bulkeley of Llangefni, Eſq.	Thomas Bulkeley, Eſq.
35. Weſtminſter, William Glyn, Gentleman	Thomas Bulkeley, Eſq.
39. Weſtminſter, Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Eſq.	William Jones of Caſtellmarch, Eſq.
43. Weſtminſter, Thomas Holland of Berw, Eſq.	William Maurice of Clenennev, Eſq.

ANGLESEY. BEAUMARES.

JACOBI I.

A.R.	ANGLESEY.	BEAUMARES.
1.	Weſtminſter, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt.	William Jones of Caſtellmarch, Eſq.
12.	Weſtminſter, ——— ———, loſt off the file.	——— ———, loſt off the file
18.	Weſtminſter, Richard Williams of Llyſdulas, Gentleman	Sampſon Evans, Eſq.
21.	Weſtminſter, John Moſtyn of Tregarnedd, Eſq.	Charles Jones of Caſtellmarch, Eſq.

CAROLI I.

1.	Weſtminſter, Sir Sackvil Trefor, Kt.	Charles Jones, Eſq.
1.	Weſtminſter, Sir Rich. Bulkeley, Kt.	Charles Jones, Eſq.
3.	Weſtminſter, Richard Bulkeley, Eſq.	Charles Jones, Eſq.
15.	Weſtminſter, John Bodwel, Eſq.	Charles Jones, Eſq.
16.	Weſtminſter, John Bodwel, Eſq.	John Gryffyth, ſenior, of Cefn Ammwlch, Eſq.

The worthy collector of theſe names took no notice of the long parliament, nor of any other convention, till the parliament of the twelfth year of king Charles the Second.

CAROLI II.

12.	Weſtminſter, right honourable Robert Viſcount Bulkeley	Gryffyth Bodwrda, Eſq.
13.	Weſtminſter, Nicholas Bagnal of Plas Newydd, Eſq.	Col. William Robinſon of Manachty; Sir Heneage Finch quitting it
30.	Weſtminſter, Henry Bulkeley, Eſq.	Richard Bulkeley, Eſq.
31.	Weſtminſter, Henry Bulkeley, Eſq.	Richard Bulkeley, Eſq.
32.	Oxford, Richard Bulkeley, Eſq.	Henry Bulkeley, Eſq.

ANGLESEY.	BEAUMARES.

JACOBI II.

A.R.

1. Weſtminſter, right honourable Robert Viſcount Bulkeley	Henry Bulkeley, Eſq.

WILL. & MARIÆ.

1. Weſtminſter, honourable Thomas Bulkeley, Eſq.	Sir William Williams of Llanforda, Kt. and Bart.
2. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Hon. Tho. Bulkeley, Eſq. Sir William Williams of Faenol dying, who was firſt choſen

WILLIAM III.

7. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Sir William Williams of Llanforda, Kt and Bart.
10. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Owen Hughes of Beaumares, Eſq.
12. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Conningſby Williams of Marian, Eſq.
13. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Honourable Robert Bulkeley, Eſq.

ANNÆ.

1. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Honourable Robert Bulkeley, Eſq. He dying, Conningſby Williams, Eſq. was returned
4. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley, his father dying, who had been returned	Honourable Henry Bertie, Eſq. brother to Lady Bulkeley
9. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Honourable Henry Bertie, Eſq.
12. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Honourable Henry Bertie, Eſq.

GEORGE

ANGLESEY.	BEAUMARES.

GEORGE I.

1. Weſtminſter, Owen Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	Honourable Henry Bertie, Eſq.
8. Weſtminſter, right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley	Honourable Henry Bertie, Eſq.

GEORGE II.

1. Weſtminſter, Hugh Williams of Cheſter, Eſq.	Sir Watkin Williams Wynne of Wynſtay, Bart.
8. Weſtminſter, Sir Nicholas Bayly of Plas Newydd, Bart.	Right honourable Richard Viſcount Bulkeley
15. Weſtminſter, John Owen of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	Right honourable James Viſcount Bulkeley
22. Weſtminſter, Sir Nicholas Bayly, Bart.	The ſame
28. Weſtminſter, the ſame	Richard Price of Faenor, Eſq.

GEORGE III.

1. Weſtminſter, Owen Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	The ſame

A CATALOGUE OF THE SHERIFFS OF ANGLESEY, FROM THE Time they were firſt appointed by Act of Parliament.

Anno Regni.			A. D.
Henrici VIII.		RICE ap Llewelyn ap Hwlkyn of Bodychen, during life	
	32	Rowland Griffith of Plas Newydd, Eſq.	1541
	33	Sir Richard Bulkeley, Kt.	1542
	34	John ap Rees ap Llewelyn ap Hwlkyn, Eſq.	1543
	35	William Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.	1544
	36	Rhydderch ap David of Myfyrian, Eſq.	1545
	37	Richard Hampton of Henllys, Eſq.	1546
Edvardi VI.	1	Sir Richard Bulkeley of Baronhill, Kt.	1547
	2	Rowland Griffith of Plas Newydd, Eſq.	1548
	3	William Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	1549
	4	David ap Rees ap David ap Gwilym of Llwydiart	1550
	5	Hugh Peake of Caernarfon, Eſq.	1551
	6	Sir Richard Bulkeley, Kt.	1552
	7	Rowland Griffith *dies*, Rees Thomas, Eſq.	1553
Mariæ.	1	Thomas Moſtyn of Moſtyn, Eſq;	1554
	2	John ap Rees ap Llewelyn ap Hwlkyn of Bodychen, Eſq.	1555
	3	Thomas ap William of Faenol, Eſq.	1556

Anno Regni.		A. D.
4	Robert Bulkeley of Gronant, Eſq.	1557
5	William Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	1558
Elizabethæ. 1	Lewis ap Owen ap Meurick of Frondêg, Eſq.	1559
2	Sir Nicholas Bagnal of Ireland, Kt.	1560
3	Sir Richard Bulkeley of Baronhill, Kt.	1561
4	Maurice Griffith of Plas Newydd, Eſq.	1562
5	Owen ap Hugh of Bodeon, Eſq.	1563
6	Rice Thomas of Aber, Eſq.	1564
7	Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Eſq.	1565
8	John Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	1566
9	David ap Rees ap David ap Gwilym, Eſq.	1567
10	Richard White of Monachlog, Eſq.	1568
11	Rowland Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.	1569
12	Sir Richard Bulkeley of Baronhill, Kt.	1570
13	Lewis Owen ap Meurick of Frondêg, Eſq.	1571
14	William Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	1572
15	Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Eſq.	1573
16	John Wynne ap Jenkin ap John of Hirdrefraig, Eſq.	1574
17	Thomas Moſtyn of Moſtyn, Eſq.	1575
18	Edward Conway of Bodtryddan, Eſq.	1576
19	Owen Wood of Rhoſmor, Eſq.	1577
20	Dr. Ellis Price of Plas Jolyn	1578
21	William Thomas of Aber, Eſq.	1579
22	Owen ap Hugh of Bodeon, Eſq.	1580
23	Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Eſq.	1581
24	John Griffith ——— ———, Eſq.	1582
25	Richard White of Monachlog, Eſq.	1583
26	Thomas Glynn of Glynllifon, Eſq.	1584
27	Maurice Kyffin of Mainon, Eſq.	1585
28	Dr. Ellis Price	1586
29	John Griffith of Trefarthin, Eſq.	1587
30	Thomas Moſtyn of Moſtyn, Eſq.	1588
31	Richard White of Monachlog, Eſq.	1589
32	Roger Moſtyn of Moſtyn, Eſq.	1590
33	Owen Holland of Berw, Eſq.	1591
34	Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Eſq.	1592
35	John Griffith, Eſq.	1593

Richard

Anno Regni.		A. D.
36	Richard White of Monachlog, Eſq.	1594
37	Pierce Lloyd of Gwaredog, Eſq.	1595
38	Arthur Bulkeley of Coyden, Eſq.	1596
39	William Glynn of Glynllifon, Eſq.	1597
40	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.	1598
41	Owen Holland of Berw, Eſq.	1599
42	Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Eſq.	1600
43	Thomas Glynn of Glynllifon, Eſq.	1601
44	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.	1602
Jacobi I. 1	Pierce Lloyd, ſenior, of Lligwy, Eſq.	1603
2	William Lewis of Chwaen, Eſq.	1604
3	William Griffith of Trefarthin, Eſq.	1605
4	John Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	1606
5	Richard Glynn of Glynllifon, Eſq.	1607
6	Sir Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Kt.	1608
7	Thomas Holland of Berw, Eſq.	1609
8	William Owen of Bodeon, Eſq.	1610
9	John Bodfell of Bodfell, Eſq.	1611
10	Pierce Lloyd, junior, of Lligwy, Eſq.	1612
11	John Wynne Edward of Bodewryd, Eſq.	1613
12	Owen Wood of Llangwyfan, Eſq.	1614
13	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	1615
14	Hugh Lewis ap Howel of Llachylched, Eſq.	1616
15	Richard Williams of Llyſdulas, Eſq.	1617
16	John Lewis of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	1618
17	Sir William Glynn of Glynllifon, Kt.	1619
18	Henry Lloyd of Bodwiney, Eſq.	1620
19	Hugh Wynne of Moſſoglan, Eſq.	1621
20	Sir Thomas Holland of Berw, Kt.	1622
21	Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Eſq.	1623
22	John Bodychen, junior, of Bodychen, Eſq.	1624
23	William Thomas of Cwyrt, Eſq.	1625
Caroli I. 1	William Griffith of Trefarthin, Eſq.	1626
2	Hugh Morgan of Beaumares, Eſq.	1627
3	Edward Wynne of Bodewryd, Eſq.	1628
4	Richard Wynne of Rydcroes, Eſq.	1629
5	Thomas Glynn Llifon, Eſq.	1630

William

Anno Regni.		A. D.
6	William Robinſon of Monachdy, Eſq.	1631
7	Thomas Chedle of Lleiniog, Eſq.	1632
8	William Owen of Frondeg, Eſq.	1633
9	Hugh Owen of Bodowen, Eſq.	1634
10	Edward Wynne of Bodewryd, Eſq.	1635
11	Robert Wynne of Tre'r Gof, Eſq.	1636
12	William Bulkeley of Coyden, Eſq.	1637
13	Pierce Lloyd of Lligwy, Eſq.	1638
14	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.	1639
15	Owen Wood of Rhoſmor, Eſq.	1640
16	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	1641
17	Thomas Bulkeley of Cleifiog, Eſq.	1642
18	Thomas Chedle of Lleiniog, Eſq.	1643
19	William Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Eſq.	1644
20	Robert Jones of Ddreiniog, Eſq.	1645
21	Robert Jones of Ddreiniog, Eſq.	1646
22	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	1647
23	Richard Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	1648
Caroli II. 1	William Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Eſq.	1649
2	Owen Wood of Rhoſmor, Eſq.	1650
3	Pierce Lloyd of Lligwy, Eſq.	1651
4	Henry Owen of Moſſoglan, Eſq.	1652
5	Rowland Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.	1653
6	Hugh Owen of Bodeon, Eſq.	1654
7	William Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Eſq.	1655
8	Richard Wood of Rhoſmor, Eſq.	1656
9	Richard Owen of Penmynydd, Eſq.	1657
10	Robert lord viſcount Bulkeley	1658
11	Henry Lloyd of Bodwiney, Eſq.	1659
12	The ſame Henry Lloyd	1660
13	Thomas Wood of Rhoſmor, Eſq.	1661
14	William Bulkeley of Coyden, Eſq.	1662
15	John Lloyd of Llandegfan, Eſq.	1663
16	Richard Wynne of Penheſkin, Eſq.	1664
17	John Owen of Maethley, Eſq.	1665
18	Rowland Bulkeley *obiit*, Howel Lewis, Eſq.	1666
19	John Owen of Penrhôs, Eſq.	1667

Anno Regni.		A.D
20	John Glynn of Glynllifon, Eſq.	1668
21	Rowland White of Monachlog, Eſq.	1669
22	Conningſby Williams of Penmynydd, Eſq.	1670
23	Edward Price of Bodowyr, Eſq.	1671
24	Richard Bulkeley of Porthamel, Eſq.	1672
25	Owen Williams of Groesfechan, Eſq.	1673
26	Hugh Williams of Whaen, Eſq.	1674
27	William Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	1675
28	Thomas Wynne of Rydcroes, Eſq.	1676
29	Thomas Michael of Maen y Dryw, Eſq.	1677
30	Hugh Wynne of Cromlech, Eſq.	1678
31	David Lloyd of Llwydiart, Eſq.	1679
32	Thomas Wynne of Glaſcoed, Eſq.	1680
33	Rowland Wynne of Porthamel, Eſq.	1681
34	Robert Parry of Amlwch, Eſq.	1682
35	Owen Hughes of Beaumares, Eſq.	1683
36	Owen Bold of Tre'r Ddôl, Eſq.	1684
Jacobi II. 1	Roger Hughes of Plas Coch, Eſq.	1685
2	Maurice Lewis of Tryſglwyn, Eſq.	1686
3	William Bulkeley of Coyden, Eſq.	1687
4	Sir Hugh Owen of Bodowen, Kt. and Bart.	1688
5	Henry Sparrow of Beaumares, Eſq.	1689
Gulielmi 1	John Griffith of Garreglwyd, Eſq.	1690
& 2	Samuel Hanſon of Bodfel, Eſq.	1691
Mariæ. 3	David Williams of Glanalaw, Eſq.	1692
4	Owen Williams of Carrog, Eſq.	1693
5	William Jones of Pentraeth, Eſq.	1694
6	John Thomas of Aber, Eſq.	1695
7	Henry White of Fryars, Eſq.	1696
Gulielmi 8	Hugh Wynne of Tre Iorwerth, Eſq.	1697
III. 9	William Griffith of Garreglwyd, Eſq.	1698
10	Pierce Lloyd of Llanidan, Eſq.	1699
11	Francis Edwards of Penheſkin, Eſq.	1700
12	John Williams of Chwaen Iſaf, Eſq.	1701
Annæ. 1	John Wynne of Chwaen Wen, Eſq.	1702
2	Robert Owen of Penrhos, Eſq.	1703
3	William Owen of Cremlyn, Eſq.	1704

Anno Regni.		A. D.
	4 Hugh Wynne of Cromlech, Eſq.	1705
	5 Owen Meyrick of Bodorgan, Eſq.	1706
	6 Owen Roberts of Beaumares, Eſq.	1707
	7 John Sparrow of Beaumares, Eſq.	1708
	8 John Griffith of Llanddyfnan, Eſq.	1709
	9 William Lewis of Tryſglwyn, Eſq.	1710
	10 John Morris of Cell Lleiniog, Eſq.	1711
	11 William Roberts of Caerau, Eſq.	1712
	12 Thomas Roberts of Bodiar, Eſq.	1713
	13 William Lewis of Llyſdulas, Eſq.	1714
Georgii I.	1 William Bulkeley of Brynddu, Eſq.	1715
	2 Maurice Williams of Hafodgarregog, Eſq.	1716
	3 Edward Bayly of Plas Newydd, Eſq.	1717
	4 William Bodvel of Madrin, Eſq.	1718
	5 Hugh Hughes of Plas Coch, Eſq.	1719
	6 Rice Thomas of Coedalen, Eſq.	1720
	7 Thomas Lloyd of Llanidan, Eſq.	1721
	8 Richard Hampton of Henllys, Eſq.	1722
	9 William Owen of Penrhos, Eſq.	1723
	10 John Griffith of Garreg Lwyd, Eſq.	1724
	11 John Owen of Preſaddfed, Eſq.	1725
	12 Thomas Rowlands of Caerau, Eſq.	1726
Georgii II.	1 Henry Morgan of Henblas, Eſq.	1727
	2 John Morris of Celleiniog, Eſq.	1728
	3 John Williams of Treiarddur, Eſq.	1729
	4 Henry Williams of Trôs y Marian, Eſq.	1730
	5 Henry Powell of Llangeſni, Eſq.	1731
	6 Robert Hampton of Henllys, Eſq.	1732
	7 William Evans of Trefeilir, Eſq.	1733
	8 Robert Bulkeley of Gronant, Eſq.	1734
	9 Richard Lloyd of Rhoſbeirio, Eſq.	1735
	10 Richard Roberts of Bodſuran, Eſq.	1736
	11 Edmund Meyrick of Trefriw, Eſq.	1737
	12 William Roberts of Bodiar, Eſq.	1738
	13 Robert Williams of Penmynydd, Eſq.	1739
	14 Robert Owen of Pencraig, Eſq.	1740
	15 Rice Williams of Cwyrt, Eſq.	1741

Anno Regni.		A. D.
16	Hugh Jones of Cymunod, Eſq.	1742
17	Hugh Williams of Bryngwyn, Eſq.	1743
18	Richard Hughes of Tre'r Dryw, Eſq.	1744
19	John Nangle of Llwydiarth, Eſq.	1745
20	Henry Williams of Tros y Marian, Eſq.	1746
21	William Thomas of Glaſcoed, Eſq.	1747
22	William Lewis of Llanddyfnan, Eſq.	1748
23	Owen Wynn of Penheſkin, Eſq.	1749
24	Charles Allanſon of Ddreiniog, Eſq.	1750
25	John Lloyd of Hirdrefraig, Eſq.	1751
26	Charles Evans of Trefeilir, Eſq.	1752
27	Bodychen Sparrow of Bodychen, Eſq.	1753
28	Richard Hughes of Bodwyn, Eſq.	1754
29	Hugh Davies of Brynhyrddin, Eſq.	1755
30	Charles Allanſon of Ddreiniog, Eſq.	1756
31	John Rowlands of Porthllongdy, Eſq.	1757
32	Edward Owen of Penrhos, Eſq.	1758
33	Robert Owen of Peneraig, Eſq.	1759
34	Robert Lloyd of Tregaian, Eſq.	1760
Georgii 1	Francis Lloyd of Monachdy, Eſq.	1761
III. 2	Hugh Barlow of Penrhos, Eſq.	1762
3	Felix Feaſt of Bodlew, Eſq.	1763
4	John Lewis of Llanfihangel, Eſq.	1764
5	Herbert Jones of Llynon, Eſq.	1765
6	Hugh Williams of Ty Fry, Eſq.	1766

A CATALOGUE OF THE BENEFICED CLERGY of the Isle of ANGLESEY, FROM THE Time of King HENRY VIII; with an Account of the Value in the King's Books, Patronage, &c. of the several Livings.

ABERFFRAW.

A Rectory---St. Beuno---the Presentation thereof in the Prince of Wales.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	20	15	10
	Elizabeth	20	7	6

Institution.

1560 MR. Richard Murien
August 7, 1573 Henry Williams, Clerk, *per mortem* R. Murien
June 29, 1604 John Thomas, M. A. *per mortem* H. W. He was brother to Sir William Thomas of Aber, Kt.
March 29, 1643 Thomas Hughes, B. A. *per mortem* J. T.
1660 Richard Rowlands, Clerk, *per mortem* T. H.
Sept. 29, 1694 John Jones, B. A. *per mortem* R. R. He was a Merionyddshire man
Octob. 28, 1709 Hugh Wynne, M. A. *per mortem* J. J.
Octob. 8, 1715 Owen Hughes, M. A. and B. L. L. He was chancellor of Bangor
1740 Thomas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* O. H.
Feb. 15, 1754 Hugh Williams, M. A. *per mortem* T. O.

LLANBADRIG.

A Vicarage in the Prince's Gift.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	7	8	1
	Elizabeth,	7	9	2½

Inſtitution.

1546 HUgh Powel, Clerk
John Hanton, Clerk
June 27, 1614 William Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* J. H.
Michael Roberts, M. A. after D. D. and ſome time principal of Jeſus-College in Oxford
Thomas Williams, M. A.
October 16, 1663 David Lloyd, M. A. *per mortem* T. W.
July 5, 1691 William Wynne, B. A. *per mortem* D. Ll.
1712 Owen Davies, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* W. W.
David Jones, Clerk, *per depriv.* O. D.
Jan. 17, 1729-30 Owen Davies, Clerk, *per mortem* D. J.
April 7, 1743 Robert Pugh, A. B. *per mortem* O. D.
March 30, 1749 Hugh Parry, *per mortem* R. P.

LLANBEULAN.

A Rectory, in the Bishop's Gift, hath five Chapels under it; viz. *Llanfaelog*, *Llachylched*, *Ceirchiog*, *Llanerchmedd*, and *Tal y Llyn*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	23	6	8
	Elizabeth	22	4	6

Institution.

	MOrgan Hughes, Clerk
Jan. 23, 1542	John Powell, Clerk, *per mortem* M. H.
Auguſt 6, 1548	Humphrey ap Richard ap John, Clerk, *per mortem* J. P.
June 29, 1587	Hugh Edwards, M. A.
March 19, 1609	Edmund Griffith, M. A. *per mortem prior. incumb.*
May 16, 1617	William Hill, D. D. *per mortem* E. G.
	Evan Lloyd, M. A.
	Thomas Cæſar, D. D. ſon of Sir Julius Cæſar, maſter of the rolls
	John Kenrick, M. A.
April 22, 1635	John Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* J. K.—He was brother of Dr. William Griffith of Garreglwyd, chancellor of Bangor and St. Aſaph
July 4, 1635	The ſaid John Griffith was re-inſtituted, *Reg. preſent.*
	Michael Evans, B. D.
Dec. 31, 1670	Evan Hughes, M. A.
June 3, 1682	Henry Williams, M. A.
	Biſhop Evans, *in commendam*
July 9, 1713	Jenkin Evans, Clerk, *per ceſſion. epiſc.*
Dec. 1, 1746	Hugh Hughes, M. A. afterwards D. D. and dean of Bangor, *per mortem* J. E.
Dec. 22, 1753	Thomas Lloyd, M. A. afterwards D. D. and dean of Bangor, *per mortem* H. H.

LLANDEGFAN.

A Rectory, in the Lord Bulkeley's Gift, hath one Chapel under it, viz. *Beaumares Church.*

			£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.		20	0	0
	Elizabeth		19	11	8

Inſtitution.

ARthur Bulkeley, D.D. afterwards biſhop of Bangor
Nov. 29, 1544 John Bulkeley, D. D. *per ceſſion* A. B.
June 14, 1545 John Lewis, *alias* Vaughan, *per mortem* J. B.
July 2, 1555 Lewis ap John, Clerk, *per mortem* J. V. inſtituted *per* dean and chapter
March 25, 1573 Rowland Bulkeley, deacon, *per mortem* L. J. preſented by Sir Richard Bulkeley
July 12, 1592 The ſaid Rowland Bulkeley inſtituted again
March 4, 1593 Launcelot Bulkeley, M. A. afterwards archbiſhop of Dublin
March 15, 1619 John Lloyd, M. A. on the promotion of L. B. to the archbiſhopric of Dublin
July 10, 1626 Rowland Chedle, M. A. *per mortem* J. Ll.
William Williams, M. A. a Denbighſhire gentleman, of Pont y Gwyddel
Peter Wynne, M. A. a Flintſhire gentleman, of Gop
Dec. 5. 1683 John Jones, M. A. afterwards D. D. and dean of Bangor
June 27, 1700 Kenrick Eyton, M. A. a Merionyddſhire gentleman, *per ceſſion*. J. J. D. D.
April 2, 1720 Thomas Bean, B. A. *per mortem* K. E.
March 30, 1733 Richard Ingram, Clerk, *per mortem* T. B.
March 11, 1737 John Lewis, A. M. *per ceſſion* R. I.
1743 John Hughes, A. B. *per mortem* J. L.
Nov. 16, 1754 John Hughes, A. B. *per mortem* J. H.
1762 William Griffith, A. M. *per mortem* J. H.-----Never inſtituted
Dec. 3, 1762 Thomas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* J. H.
April 20, 1763 Richard Williams, B. A. *per mortem* T. O.

LLANDDEUSANT.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it; viz. *Llan Babo* and *Llanfairynghornwy*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	20	16	2
	Elizabeth	20	17	6

Inſtitution.

ARthur Bulkeley, D. D. afterwards biſhop of Bangor

October 10, 1543 Thomas Bulkeley, LL. B. *per ceſſion epiſc.* Bulkeley
October 17, 1570 William Griffith, Clerk, *per mortem* T. B.
March 22, 1587 Robert Morgans, M. A. *per reſign.* W. G.
January 3, 1591 Richard Brickdale, Clerk, *per depriv.* R. M.
Biſhop Bayly, *in commendam*
October 9, 1626 Richard Hughes, M. A. *per ceſſion. epiſc.*
Michael Evans, M. A.
October 13, 1670 John Edwards, M. A.
Auguſt 23, 1687 Richard Hughes, Clerk
January 10, 1693 William Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* R. H.
July 4, 1707 William Price, B. A. *per mortem* W. H.
June 16, 1713 Owen Lloyd, M. A. *per ceſſion.* W. P.
Feb. 25, 1731-2 William Morgan, A. B. *per ceſſion.* O. Ll.
July , 1742 Robert Foulkes, *per mortem* W. M.
Dec. 29, 1746 Stephen Williams, A. B. *per ceſſion.* R. F.
Auguſt 6, 1762 Bulkeley Hughes, A. B. *per mortem* S. W.

LLANDYFRYDOG.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Llanfihangel Tre'r Bardd.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore,*	Henry VIII.	14	9	7
	Elizabeth	14	10	0

Inſtitution.

	John Robins, Clerk
May 22, 1550	Reynald ap Griffith, Clerk, *per reſign.* J. R.
July 12, 1569	Rowland Thomas, LL. D. *per mortem* R. G.
Nov. 13, 1570	John Rowlands, Clerk, *per reſign.* R. Th.
Nov. 11, 1577	Robert Morgan, A. M. *per mortem* J. R.
March 22, 1587	William Griffith, Clerk, *per reſign.* R. M.
May 23, 1609	Robert Prichard, M. A. *per mortem* W. G.
1623	Robert Marſh, Clerk
	——— Jones, Clerk
	Humphrey Vaughan, Clerk
July 15, 1670	Rowland Morgan, M. A.
1678	Nicholas Stodart, Clerk
May 19, 1691	Owen Davies, M. A. *per ceſſion.* N. S.
July 17, 1708	Owen Lloyd, LL. B. *per mortem* O. D.
January 2, 1715	Francis Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* O. Ll.
Feb. 20, 1722-3	Lewis Davies, B. A. *per mortem* F. G.
Feb. 19, 1749-50	Nicholas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* L. D.

LLANDDYFNAN.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath three Chapels under it; viz. *Llanfair Mathafarn Eithaf*, *Llanbedr* and *Pentraeth*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	40	0	0
	Elizabeth	38	6	8

Inſtitution.

William Hughes, B. LL.
Sept. 26, 1565 Richard Brigdal, Clerk, *per mortem* W. H.
Feb. 28, 1591 Rowland Bulkeley, Clerk
Nov. 13, 1593 Lancelot Bulkeley, M. A. *per mortem* R. B.
Dec. 18, 1619 John Bayly, M. A. on the ceſſion of L. B. being made archbiſhop of Dublin
Sept. 5, 1620 Rowland Chedle, B. A. *per reſign.* J. B.
April 8, 1622 Hugh Griffith, B. LL.
January 13, 1636 Thomas Bulkeley, B. A. *per reſign.* H. G.
May 20, 1642 Thomas Meredith, M. A. *per mortem* T. B.
Nov. 19, Robert Morgan, D. D. afterwards biſhop of Bangor, *per reſign.* T. M.
Nov. 4, 1672 Edward Wynne, M. A.
John Ellis, D. D. of Yſtymllyn in Caernarvonſhire
Biſhop Humphreys, *in commendam*
Nov. 6, 1701 Robert Morgan, Clerk, *per ceſſion. epiſc.*
Biſhop Evans, *in commendam*
1715 Biſhop Hoadley, *in commendam*
1721 Biſhop Reynolds, *in commendam*
1723 Biſhop Baker, *in commendam*
1728 Biſhop Sherlock, *in commendam*
1734 Biſhop Cecil, *in commendam*
1737 Biſhop Herring, *in commendam*
1743 Biſhop Hutton, *in commendam*
1747 Biſhop Pearce, *in commendam*
1756 Biſhop Egerton, *in commendam*

LLAN ELIAN.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath three Chapels under it; viz. *Coedane, Rhoſpeirio* and *Bodewryd.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore,*	Henry VIII.	14	1	8
	Elizabeth	13	1	8

Inſtitution.	
1560	HUgh ap Rhees, Clerk
June 13, 1573	Humphrey David Lloyd, Clerk, *per mortem* H. ap R.
May 29, 1577	Hugh Burches, M. A. *per mortem* H. Ll.
May 15, 1602	Morgan Davies, Clerk, *per reſign.* H. B.
May 13, 1603	John Llewelin, Clerk, *per reſign.* M. D.
Auguſt 29, 1612	Robert Prichard, M. A. *per mortem* J. Ll.
	John Lloyd, M. A.
March 15, 1619	William Lloyd, M. A. *per reſign.* J. Ll.
	Rowland Lloyd, M. A.
	Owen Williams, Clerk
May 2, 1687	Thomas Vaughan, M. A.
June 15, 1699	Richard Jones, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* T. V.
Nov. 11, 1704	John Owen, B. A. *per mortem* R. J.
July 25, 1707	William Lloyd, B. A. *per mortem* J. O.
July 24, 1739	Robert Jones, B. A. *per mortem* W. Ll.
Auguſt 14, 1762	John Jones, B. A. *per reſign.* R. J.
June 8, 1765	Thomas Vincent, A. M. *per ceſſion.* J. J.

LLAN EUGRAD.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath under it one Chapel; viz. *Llanallgo*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	9	11	9
	Elizabeth	9	11	0

Inſtitution.

	William Nant, Clerk.
Auguſt 2, 1550	Richard ap Evan, Clerk, *per mortem* W. N.
	William Griffith, Clerk, *per deprivat.* R. ap E. *conjugati*
Auguſt 9, 1574	The ſaid William Griffith, *per mortem* R. ap E.
Dec. 16, 1592	Richard Puleſton, M. A. *per mortem* W. G.
Sept. 1, 1592	David Rowlands, Clerk, *per reſign.* R. P. He was brother of biſhop Rowlands
Dec. 4, 1610	Hugh Griffith, Clerk, *per mortem* D. R.
Nov. 5, 1617	Robert Griffith, M. A. *per reſign.* H. G.
	——— Payn, Clerk
	Hugh Humphreys, M. A.
June 8, 1668	Owen Wood, Clerk, ſon of Arnold Wood of Holyhead, Gentleman
Feb. 17, 1668	Edward Wynne, Clerk, *per mortem* O. W. He was ſon of John Wynne of Bodewryd, Eſq.
Nov. 5, 1670	Richard Hughes, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* E. W.
October 21, 1687	Maurice Jones, M.A. a Denbighſhire man, *per ceſſion.* R. H.
May 29, 1697	Francis Prichard, M. A. *per ceſſion* M. J. He was a Merionyddſhire man, and had been ſchoolmaſter of Beaumares ſchool
June 30, 1704	Rowland Griffith, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* F. P.
Nov. 8, 1712	William Wynne, B. A. *per mortem* R. G.
March 17, 1717	Hugh Jones, M. A. *per mortem* W. W.
October 1, 1735	Robert Jones, B. A. *per ceſſion.* H. J.
July 24, 1739	Lewis Owen, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* R. J.

LLANGADWALADR.

A Rectory, in the Lord-Chancellor's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Llanfeirion.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore,*	Henry VIII.	16	7	11
	Elizabeth	16	9	6

Inſtitution.

ROwland Meyrick, *conjugat. & deprivat.* He was afterwards biſhop of Bangor

June 9, 1554 Thomas Jones, Clerk, *per deprivat.* R. M. *conjugat.*
March 14, 1572 Richard Williams, Clerk, *per mortem* T. J.
April 7, 1601 Owen Glynne, D. D. *per mortem* R. W.
March 28, 1615 John Arthur, M. A. *per mortem* O. G.
April 7, 1627 Robert Marſh, M. A.
Francis Meyrick, M. A. of Bodorgan
Sept. 11, 1668 Lewis Coytmor, M. A. of Llanfairfechan
Hugh Wynne, M. A. of Menechtyd
Peter Wynne, M. A. of Gop
February 6, 1683 Owen Davies, M. A.
May 19, 1691 Nicholas Stodart, Clerk
Nov. 22. 1722 John Ellis, M. A. of Bodlew
March 10, 1723 William Williams, a South-Wales man, *per mortem* J. E.
Nov. 29, 1725 Morgan Lewis, B. A. *per mortem* W. W.
Mar. 11, 1730-1 Rowland Hughes, *per mortem* M. L.
February 8, 1762 Owen Parry, LL. B. *per mortem* R. H.

LLANGEFNI.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Tre Gaian.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore,*	Henry VIII.	9	13	4
	Elizabeth	9	10	7½

Inſtitution.

HUgh Clement, Clerk
Thomas Bulkeley, LL. B.

Nov. 4, 1570 George Smith, LL. B. *per mortem* T. B.
Sept. 14, 1608 William Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* G. S.
October 20, 1614 Robert Griffith, Clerk, *per reſign.* W. H.
October 4, 1619 Owen Jones, M. A. *per ceſſion.* R. G.
1660 Owen Hughes, Clerk
Sept. 18, 1669 Rowland Lloyd, M. A.
Sept. 23, 1689 Robert Owen, Clerk, *per mortem* R. LI.
July 17, 1707 Roger Morgan, M. A. *per mortem* R. O.
May 28, 1723 Rowland Johnſon, *per mortem* R. M.
Jan. 17, 1729-30 William Evans, M. A. *per ceſſion.* R. J.
Feb. 28, 1731-2 Owen Lloyd, M. A. *per ceſſion.* W. E.
Mar. 21, 1740-1 Andrew Edwards, A. M. *per ceſſion.* O. LI.
July 10, 1753 John Lewis, B. A. *per ceſſion.* A. E.

LLANGEINWEN.

A Rectory, in the Earl of Pembroke's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Llan Gaffo*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII. / Elizabeth	19	1	2

Inſtitution.	
	HEnry Symmonds, Clerk
June 5, 1564	Humphrey Brigdale, Clerk, *per mortem* H. S.
Auguſt 11, 1573	Owen Owens, M. A. *per reſign.* H. B.
May 4, 1593	Owen Jones, Clerk, *per mortem* O. O.
March 6, 1603	Robert White, B. A. afterwards D. D.
	Edward Wynne, D. D.
	Owen Davies, M. A.
Auguſt 2, 1708	Thomas Holland of Berw, Clerk, *per mortem* O. D.
1747	Edward Jones, A. M. *per mortem* T. H.

HEN EGLWYS.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Trefwalchmai.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII. / Elizabeth	9	3	4

Inſtitution.	
	JOhn ap William, Clerk
Feb. 13, 1551	William Glynn, D.D. *per mortem* J. ap W. (afterwards biſhop)
May 17, 1558	John Rowland, Clerk, *per ceſſion epiſc.*
January 2, 1578	Thomas Price, Clerk, *per mortem* J. R.
Sept. 25, 1583	William Owen, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* T. P.
October 17, 1605	Hugh Thomas, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* W. O.
June 22, 1632	William Langford, M. A. *per mortem* H. T.
March 5, 1632	William Stodart, Clerk of Treganwy, *per reſign.* W. L.
	Thomas Jones, Clerk
July 12, 1662	Hugh Hughes, Clerk of Bodffordd
	William Williams, M. A. changed it with John Rowlands, brother of Richard Rowlands of Aberffraw
May 4, 1668	John Rowlands, B. A.
	Humphrey Humphreys, M. A. afterwards biſhop of Bangor
	Rowland Williams, M. A. Vicar of Caernarvon
May 14, 1684	Hugh Johnſon, Clerk, *per mortem* R. W.
October 24, 1691	William Hughes, M. A. *per ceſſion.* H. J.
January 10, 1693	John Jones, B. A. *per ceſſion.* W. H.
October 1, 1694	Hugh Griffith, M. A. *per ceſſion.* J. J.
October 2, 1712	Henry Thomas, B. A. *per mortem* H. G.
Feb. 11, 1745-6	Robert Evans, A. B. *per mortem* H. T.

LLANIDAN.

A Vicarage, in Lord Boſton's Gift, hath three Chapels under it; viz. *Llan Edwen*, *Llanddaniel Fâb*, and *Llanfair y Cwmmwd*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII. / Elizabeth	10	0	0

Inſtitution.

DAvid ap Rees, Clerk of Bodowyr: he was anceſtor by the mother of the Johnſons of Llanidan

Gregory ap Llewelyn, Clerk

June 1, 1554 Lewis ap Evan ap Robert, Clerk, *per privat.* G. Ll. *conjugat.*

January 11, 1579 Jaſper Price, A. M. of Bodowyr, *per mortem* L. E.

Feb. 13, 1581 The ſaid Jaſper Price, re-inſtituted on the queen's preſentation

1626 Lewis Williams, A. M. *per mortem* J. P.

1666 Henry Williams, A. M. *per mortem* L. W. He was ſon of Thomas Williams, Clerk, rector of Llanſadwrn

Decem. 3, 1683 John Davies, M. A. *per ceſſion.* H. W.

October 2, 1696 Henry Rowlands, Clerk, *per mortem* J. D.

1723 Hugh Wynne, LL. B. *per mortem* H. R.

Jan. 14, 1730-1 Lewis Hughes, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* H. W. LL. D.

Feb. 5, 1732-3 Robert Lewis, A. M. *per mortem* L. H.

Mar. 16, 1747-8 Robert Hughes, A. B. *per ceſſion.* R. L.

Nov. 2, 1756 Henry Rowlands, A. M. *per mortem* R. H.

NEWBOROUGH.

A Rectory, in the Lord-Chancellor's Gift.

			£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.		10	13	7
	Elizabeth		8	10	0

Inſtitution.

June 9, 1554 HUgh ap Robert, Clerk
Robert ap Hugh, Clerk, *per privat.* H. R. *conjugati*

May 29, 1596 Edmund Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* R. H.

June 26, 1610 Robert White, M. A. after D. D. *per ceſſion.* E. G.

John Davies, M. A.

Sept. 11, 1695 Hugh Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* J. D.

Robert Humphreys, M. A. a Merionyddſhire man

June 14, 1705 Evan Jones, M. A. *per ceſſion.* R. H.

1722 William Williams, M. A. *per mortem* E. J.

June 13, 1746 Edward Jones, A. M. *per mortem* W. W.

Jan. 9, 1746-7 Owen Jones, B. A. *per ceſſion.* E. J.

PENYMYNYDD.

A Prebend of the Cathedral Church of Bangor, is in the Biſhop's Gift.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	8	13	4
	Elizabeth	8	5	7½

Inſtitution.

William Powel, Clerk
Henry Rowlands, biſhop of Bangor, *in commendam*
Robert White, D. D.
Simon Lloyd, Clerk
——— Gethin, Clerk
Owen Davies, M. A.
John Williams, M. A.
Robert Wynne, M. A.
Nov. 12, 1720 Owen Hughes, chancellor of Bangor
Feb. 18, 1740-1 Owen Lloyd, chancellor of Bangor
March 29, 1743 Hugh Hughes, A. M.
May 10, 1750 Peter Maurice, A. M. afterwards D. D. and dean of Bangor
1759 Egerton Leigh, M. A. *per mortem* P. M.

RHOSCOLYN.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it; viz. *Llanfair yn Neubwll* and *Llanſihangel y Traeth.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore,*	Henry VIII.	10	6	8
	Elizabeth	10	5	0

Inſtitution.

	William Glynn, D. D. made afterwards biſhop
May 18, 1558	Hugh Powel, Clerk, *per ceſſion. epiſc.*
July 13, 1583	Richard Williams, Clerk, *per mortem* H. P.
Auguſt 21, 1601	Henry Parry, B. D. *per mortem* R. W.
January 7, 1606	Owen Hughes, M. A. and B. LL. *per reſign.* H. P.
February 1, 1613	Owen Glynn, D. D. *per mortem* O. H.
April 26, 1615	Evan Lloyd, M. A. *per mortem* O. G. a Denbighſhire man
April 29, 1663	Edmund Griffith Lloyd, Clerk
	Lewis Williams, M. A. of Glan y Gors
July 4, 1671	John Gunnis, Clerk, a Caernarvonſhire man
June 3, 1672	John Jones, A. M. afterwards D. D. and dean of Bangor
	Richard Hughes, Clerk
Sept. 15, 1708	Hugh Wynne, M. A. *per mortem* R. H.
January 6, 1709	Simon Langford, M. A. a Denbighſhire man, *per ceſſion* H. W.
Feb. 22, 1736-7	Thomas Owen, M. A. *per mortem* S. L.
Sept. 22, 1753	William Griffith, B. A. *per mortem* T. O.

LLANRHUDDLAD.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it; viz. *Llanfflewyn* and *Llanrhwydrus*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	14	11	6
	Elizabeth	14	11	8

Inſtitution.

Thomas Bulkeley, Clerk
May 19, 1570 Hugh Morgan, LL. B. *per mortem* T. B.
Auguſt 16, 1574 John Price, Deacon, *per mortem* H. M.
May 27, 1616 Griffith Hughes, M. A. *per mortem* J. P.
May 5, 1627 Thomas Cæſar, M. A. *per ceſſion. epiſc.* He was ſon of Sir Julius Cæſar, maſter of the rolls
April 15, 1633 Hugh Williams, B. D. *per mortem* T. C. D. D.
October 8, 1670 Edward Price, M. A. *per mortem* H. W. D. D. He was of Llanllugan in Montgomeryſhire
January 8, 1671 Thomas Davies, M. A.
1689 David Lloyd, Clerk
June 21, 1699 Henry Jones, Clerk, *per mortem* D. Ll.
June 30, 1704 Francis Prichard, M. A. *per mortem* H. J.
Dec. 22, 1704 Ambroſe Lewis, Clerk, *per mortem* F. P.
January 1, 1729 David Doulben, M. A. *per mortem* A. L.
Feb. 7, 1730 Edward Bennet, *per ceſſion.* D. D.
March 17, 1755 John Hughes, Clerk, *per mortem* E. B.

LLANSADWRN.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	9	6	8
	Elizabeth	7	18	6

Inſtitution.	
	William ap David ap Thomas, Clerk
June 5, 1582	John Richards, M. A. *per mortem* W. D. T.
January 8, 1588	John ap Llewelyn, Clerk, *per reſign.* J. R.
May 13, 1603	Robert Sherman, Clerk, *per reſign.* J. Ll.
Sept. 30, 1608	Hugh Lloyd, M. A. *per mortem* R. S.
Auguſt 19, 1609	Hugh Griffith, Deacon, *per ceſſion.* H. Ll.
May 28, 1611	Robert Griffith, M. A. *per ceſſion.* H. G.
Nov. 5, 1617	Hugh Griffith, Clerk, *per reſign.* R. G.
January 8, 1635	Thomas Williams, M. A. *per reſign.* H. G. LL. D.
	John Rowlands, Clerk, changed with
May 4, 1668	William Williams, M. A. He was ſchoolmaſter of Beaumares ſchool, a younger ſon of —— Williams of Pont y Gwyddel in Denbighſhire
	Henry Williams, M. A.
	Robert Humphreys, M. A.
October 28, 1691	Robert Owen, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* R. H.
July 5, 1707	Owen Lloyd, A. M. *per mortem* R. O.
Mar. 1, 1741-2	Robert Lewis, A. M. *per mortem* O. Ll.
Nov. 3, 1747	Nicholas Owen, A. M. *per ceſſion.* R. L.
Feb. 20, 1749-50	John Ellis, LL. B. *per ceſſion.* N. O.
April 20, 1750	Edward Foulkes, A. B. *per ceſſion.* J. E.
April 4, 1754	Henry Parry, A. B. *per ceſſion.* E. F.
July 20, 1764	Henry Williams, A. B. *per mortem* H. P.

TREFDRAETH.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Llangwyfen.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	14	8	10
	Elizabeth	14	9	9½

Inſtitution.

Lewis ap Gwrgene, Clerk
Dec. 11, 1546 David Owen, Clerk, *per mortem* L. G.
June 26, 1561 Hugh Morgan, LL. B. *per mortem* D. O.
Auguſt 7, 1564 David Lloyd ap Meredydd, Clerk
Henry Rowlands, biſhop of Bangor, *in commendam*
Dec. 30, 1606 Henry Parry, B. D. *per ceſſion. epiſc.*
Auguſt 18, 1618 John Meredydd, M. A. *per ceſſion. Lud. Bayly epiſc.*
William Hill, D. D. He married biſhop Bayly's daughter
Biſhop Bayly, *in commendam*, again
Sept. 30, 1626 Griffith Williams, D. D. *per ceſſion. epiſc.* He was after dean of Bangor, and biſhop of Oſſory in Ireland
David Lloyd, D. LL.
July 16, 1642 Robert Morgan, B. D. *per reſign.* D. Ll.
William Lloyd, M. A.
May 5, 1668 Hugh Humphreys, M. A.
Lewis Lloyd, M. A. a Caernarvonſhire gentleman
Sept. 10, 1702 Hugh Wynne, M. A. *per mortem* L. Ll.
Sept. 30, 1715 Owen Hughes, B. LL. and M. A. *per mortem* H. W.
Feb. 18, 1740 Hugh Hughes, A. M. *per mortem* O. H.
Nov. 16, 1744 William Hughes, A. B. *per ceſſion.* H. H.
Nov. 2, 1747 Robert Lewis, A. M. afterwards chancellor of Bangor, *per mortem* W. H.
April 5, 1766 Thomas Bowles, D. D. *per mortem* R. L.

LLANTRISANT.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath four Chapels under it; viz. *Llechcynfarwy*, *Keidio*, *Gweredog*, and *Llanllibio*.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	26	0	0
	Elizabeth	25	10	0

Inſtitution.

Robert Piggot, Clerk
Sept. 24, 1556 Thomas Yale, D. LL. *per reſign.* R. P.
March 18, 1577 John Price, M. A. *per mortem* T. Y.
January 20, 1578 Francis Broughton, M. A. *per reſign.* J. P.
March 15, 1594 Richard Gwynn, M. A. *per reſign.* F. B.
March 15, 1613 William Prytherch, M. A. *per reſign.* R. G.
Sept. 30, 1620 John Bayly, M. A. *per mortem* W. P. He was ſon of biſhop Bayly
Griffith Hughes, Clerk
May 8, 1626 Hugh Williams, M. A. (after D. D.) *per mortem* G. H.
October 7, 1670 Edward Wynne, M. A. of Bodewryd, *per mortem* H. W. D. D.
Robert Wynne, M. A.
Nov. 10, 1720 William Hughes, B. A. *per mortem* R. W.
Dec. 28, 1744 John Owen, LL. B. *per ceſſion.* W. H. afterwards chancellor of Bangor
Novem. 8, 1755 John Ellis, LL. B. *per mortem* J. O. archdeacon of Merioneth

LLANFACHRETH.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath two Chapels under it, viz. *Llanenghenedl* and *Llanfigel*.

			£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Temporá*,	Henry VIII.		16	0	0
	Elizabeth		14	11	0

Inſtitution.

	Morgan Haghes, Clerk
January 23, 1542	William ap Robert, Clerk, *per mortem* M. H.
June 18, 1566	Richard Bulkeley, deacon of Gronant, *per mortem* W. R.
	Henry Rowlands, biſhop of Bangor, *in commendam*
Dec. 30, 1606	Owen Hughes, M. A. and LL. B. *per ceſſion. epiſc.*
March 5, 1613	Henry Parry, B. D. *per mortem* O. H. He was deſcended from one of the ſons of Richard Owen Tudor of Penmynydd, a learned man, and grandfather to the late eminent divine Dr. Maurice, chaplain to his grace archbiſhop Sancroft
	William Owen, Clerk. He married Mr. Parry's widow; was ſon of David Owen of Penmynydd, Eſq.
June 14, 1645	Robert Lloyd, Clerk, a Denbighſhire man, *per mortem* W. O.
	William Williams, Clerk
	Rice Williams, Clerk, afterwards rector of Llandwrog
May 1, 1668	Thomas Hughes, M. A. *per ceſſion.* R. W.
	Lancelot Bulkeley, B. D. *per ceſſion.* T. H. He was ſon of William Bulkeley of Coyden, Eſq.
Nov. 3, 1690	Pierce Lewis, M. A. *per ceſſion.* L. B.
Nov. 3, 1693	John Anwyl, B. A. *per ceſſion.* P. L.
June 15, 1699	Evan Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* J. A.
April 8, 1703	William Wynne, M. A. *per ceſſion.* E. G.
Feb. 13, 1705	Jenkin Evans, B. A. a South-Wales man, *per mort.* W. W.
October 14, 1713	Th Vincent, A. M. a Merionyddſhire man, *per ceſ.* J. E.
June 15, 1738	Richard Williams, B. A. *per mortem* T. V.
Jan. 10, 1749-50	Henry Maurice, B. A. *per mortem* R. W.
July 29, 1763	James Vincent, M. A. *per mortem* H. M.

LLANFAETHLU.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Llanfwrog.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	17	0	0
	Elizabeth	17	7	6

Inſtitution.

	John Hughes, Clerk
May 30, 1544	William Griffith, Clerk, *per mortem* J. H.
July 13, 1554	Richard ap Evan, Clerk, *per privat.* W. G. *conjugat.*
May 13, 1558	Richard ap Evan, aforeſaid, Clerk
	William Griffith, Clerk
Dec. 30, 1587	Richard Glynn, M. A. *per mortem* W. G.
	Biſhop Bayly, *in commendam*
Sept. 18, 1619	Thomas Davies, M. A. *per ceſſion. epiſc.*
	John Griffith, M. A.
	Rowland Chedle, D. D. a Cheſhire man
	Owen Lewis, Clerk, of Gweredog
	William Lewis, Clerk
July 11, 1671	Edward Price, M. A. a Montgomeryſhire man
	Robert Foulks, M. A. a Denbighſhire man, an eminent phyſician
June 7, 1683	Henry Williams, M. A.
Nov. 7, 1704	Hugh Griffith, M. A. *per mortem* H. W.
Nov. 27, 1712	Jenkin Evans, B. A. *per mortem* H. G.
July 9, 1713	Henry Williams, M. A. *per ceſſion.* J. E.
July 15, 1741	Humphrey Jones, A. M. *per mortem* H. W.

LLANFECHELL.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it, viz. *Llanddygwel*, fallen to ruin many years ſince.

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	11	11	3
	Elizabeth	11	11	6

Inſtitution.

HUgh Clement, Clerk
William Prytherch, Clerk

Dec. 14, 1561 Hugh Williams, alias Coydane, Clerk, *per mortem* W. P.
February 8, 1581 William Meyrick, LL. B. *per mortem* H. C.
William Prytherch, M. A.
1623 Rowland Chedle, D. D.
January 6, 1639 Edmund Price, M. A. *per reſign.* R. C. D. D.
January 11, 1643 Robert Lloyd, B. A. *per mortem* E. P.
March 20, 1645 Henry Evans, M. A. *per ceſſion.* R. Ll.
David Lloyd, M. A.
June 25, 1691 Robert Humphreys, M. A. *per mortem* D. Ll.
March 27, 1610 Thomas Jones, B. A. *per mortem* R. H.
January 8, 1730 Richard Bulkeley, B. A. *per mortem* T. J.
April 4, 1757 John Evans, A. B. *per mortem* R. B.

LLANFAIR PWLL GWYNGYLL.

A Rectory, in the Biſhop's Gift, hath one Chapel under it; viz. *Llandiſilio.*

		£.	s.	d.
Valued, *Tempore*,	Henry VIII.	7	6	8
	Elizabeth	6	15	0

Inſtitution.

1428 Griffith ap Eneon ap Gwilim, Clerk
1542 Thomas Kenrick, Clerk
Auguſt 14, 1543 David Moythe, Clerk, *per mortem* T. K.
January 15, 1583 David Morgan, Clerk, *per mortem* D. M.
October 20, 1602 Robert Parry, M. A. *per mortem* D. M.
October 18, 1606 Humphrey Roberts, alias Humphreys, M. A. and LL. B. *per ceſſion.* R. P.
Sept. 20, 1617 William Thomas, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* H. R.
John Cadwalader, Clerk
Sept. 25, 1624 William Lloyd, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* J. C.
1664 Roger Williams, M. A.
1666 Evan Hughes, M. A.
April 30, 1672 Hugh Griffith, Clerk
Auguſt 17, 1682 Henry Rowlands, Clerk, *per mortem* H. G.
January 25, 1723 Edward Price, B. A. *per mortem* H. R.
May 13, 1740 Robert Williams, A. B. *per ceſſion.* E. P.
April 24, 1758 Francis Wynne, Clerk, *per ceſſion.* R. W.

FINIS.

The Reader is desired to correct the following

E R R A T A.

Page	Line	
34	5, 6	read *relics*
	24	read *whence it is*
47	28	read דרכם לוח
48	8	read *later*
52	15	read *matter*
65	2	read *Dryw*
84	5	read *Tref*, &c. where *v* is put for *f*, as it is in many other places
100	10	read *feet*
126	ult.	read *ridged*
130	ult.	read *well as*
172	*note*	read *there are*
173	ult.	read *Dinefawr*
234	*note*	read *written*
249	7	read *the moſt*
272	34	for *one* read *not*

&c.